

SOLDIERS
OF
THE VICTORIAN AGE
VOLUME I

Soldiers

OF

The Victorian Age

1892

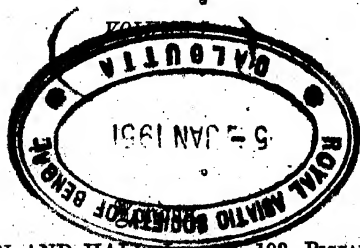
BY

CHARLES RATHBONE LOW

(I.N., F.R.G.S.)

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NAVY," "MEMOIR OF SIR GARNET WOLSELEY," &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES



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THIS WORK,
RECORDING MANY REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF
Her Majesty's Army,
AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE LIVES OF SOME OF
THE MOST DISTINGUISHED COMMANDERS OF HER GLORIOUS REIGN
IS DEDICATED, BY SPECIAL PERMISSION,
TO THEIR COMRADE,
His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, K.G.,
BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S OBEDIENT SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE reign of Queen Victoria will be known in our history as, perhaps, the most remarkable in British annals. It is pre-eminently so as regards our men of science, and, scarcely in a less degree, is the Victorian age famous for its philosophers, painters, men of letters, and orators. As regards our sailors, it is only because our naval supremacy is unquestioned, and hostile fleets in time of war avoid an encounter with ours on the seas, that no heroes, like the mighty seamen of the past, have immortalised themselves; but those most conversant with the navy can point to many officers who only want the opportunity to manifest the spirit and skill that animated the great names that were the proudest boasts of the England of Elizabeth and George the Third. Our army, with which we are more immediately concerned here, has been prominent in adding its quota to the glories of the reign of Queen Victoria.

It is the habit of foreign military critics to sneer at the efficiency of our army and the skill of our officers, and now that our near neighbour and *quondam* enemy has received a lesson on the beauty of humility which closes his mouth, our "good-natured friend" (we omit the qualifying expletive) and old ally in Central Europe, who has become so offensively conceited since his triumph of 1870-71, has taken up the rôle of censor, and lectures the nation on its duties and shortcomings, as though the secret of military success could only be learned in

the military bureaux of the general staff at Berlin. We ourselves encourage our candid critics, and carry our habits of self-depreciation, as regards our military condition and aptitudes, to the verge of folly, and, in our zeal for being "on a level with the age," hastily adopt the peculiarities in the organization, now of the French, and again of the German armies, without any regard to the fundamental differences existing between the genius of the peoples, the nature of their political institutions, and the systems under which the respective armies are recruited and maintained. And yet, when we regard what our soldiers have achieved during the past forty years, we may congratulate ourselves on possessing such an army as ours, and, without undue self-glorification, express a doubt whether any other European nation could, with our system of voluntary enlistment, and the paucity of our land forces, have effected such a marvellous series of conquests. To show that this is no vain boasting, let us compare the British Empire at the time of the accession of Queen Victoria with its extent at the present time.

In 1839, two years after Her Majesty came to the throne, our troops, assisted by the Royal and Indian navies, captured Aden, and, a few months later, the not less important port of Kur-rachee, thus inaugurating the era of territorial extension. During the next three years we waged the Afghan war, and vindicated the honour of our arms, momentarily tarnished by the defeat and massacre at Cabul and in the passes. In 1842 the China war also was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and the treaty ports being thrown open to the commerce of the world, all nations benefited by the gallantry of our soldiers and sailors. In the following year British valour was exemplified by the glories of Meeanee and Hyderabad, resulting in the annexation of Scinde. The brief Gwalior campaign brought us accession of territory, and the sanguinary campaigns on the Sutlej and in the Punjaub resulted in the annexation of a vast province. Moreover, the work of the soldier did not end here,

for the pacification and settlement of the conquered province, completed in a marvellously short space of time, was due to the genius of a soldier, Sir Henry Lawrence, whose able band of assistants were men of his own cloth. From the days of Clive and Malcolm, many of the most capable of our Indian administrators wore the red coat; and their successors, Outram, Edwardes, and a host of others, were as capable with the pen as with the sword. The conquest of Pegu, in 1852-53, completed the Indian annexations resulting from the doughty deeds of our army.

But those services were soon again required in the most unexpected emergency, that of keeping the Empire our forefathers had won. How well the army did this, and the heroism displayed on countless fields and desperate leaguers, will be told in history as long as the world endures. Quick upon the close of the great drama of the Indian Mutiny followed the China war of 1860, short and decisive, and productive of gain to the merchant, who trod close upon the footsteps of the soldier. Passing over the numberless "little wars" on the North-West and North-East frontiers, some, as the Umbeyla campaign, being of considerable proportions, we come to the Abyssinian war, where Napier triumphed over the unparalleled obstacles thrown in his path by nature, and earned a peerage which derived its title from the mountain fortress of Theodore, impregnable save to the British soldier, whose services more recently have again been called into requisition to acquire what was denominated a "scientific frontier," but which, like an *ignis fatuus*, apparently recedes as our armies advance, and, if the present policy is persisted in, will be found at the Hindoo Koosh, with a line of forts from Herat to Kulm and Fyzabad.* The army fulfilled

* How far the advanced school of Russophobists, chiefly represented by a small band of Indian soldiers, would push our frontiers beyond the mountain barriers skirting the Indus, provided by nature as the boundaries of India, may be gathered from one of the most distinguished of the number, Colonel C. M. Macgregor, C.B., D.S.I., of the Bengal Quartermaster-General's department, now chief of the staff

the behests of ministers with their wanted promptitude and *élan*; and when the massacre of our Envoy and his escort required the immediate despatch of a force to avenge the act of treachery, the British soldier, under Roberts, repeated the triumphs he had achieved under Pollock, and once more planted the Union Jack on the Bala Hissar of Cabul.

But not only in India has the British soldier illustrated the reign of Queen Victoria by his prowess. He has shown his matchless courage when mounting the heights of the Alma under a terrific fire, or encountering tremendous odds at Inkerman—the “soldiers’ battle,” as it has been well called—or braving with uncomplaining fortitude the horrors of winter on the dreary plateau of Sebastopol. He has effected the pacification of New Zealand, after a conflict with the Maori, beginning with the year 1844, and continued, with brief interludes of peace, for more than twenty years. During this protracted struggle he shed his blood freely to ensure peace and plenty to the white colonist, and many gallant British hearts breathed their last when storming New Zealand Pahs. From the “England of the southern hemisphere,” the scene is shifted to South Africa, and the Maori gives place to the Kaffir. But “*cælum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.*” Though the skies are changed, the stubborn valour and patient endurance of the British red-coat remain unchangeable, and during the protracted operations between 1846–47, and again between 1851–53, he responded with ardour to the exacting requirements of Sir Harry Smith, “the hero of Aliwal,” of Sir George Cathcart, who fell at Inkerman, and Sir William Eyre, who earned such glory at “the cemetery.”

to Sir Frederick Roberts. This gallant and able officer writes in his *Journey through Khorasan*:—“If my feeble voice can effect a warning ere it is too late, let it here be raised in these words, *If England does not use Sarrakhs for defence, Russia will use it for offence.*” Now this position of Sarrakhs is 152 miles to the north of Herat, and about 65 from Merv! Herat again is 370 miles from Candahar!

Again, in recounting the achievements of the soldier, we are transported to the prairies and rapids of the far west in the Queen's Canadian possessions, and the star of Sir Garnet Wolseley first rises above the horizon as, with indomitable perseverance, he conducts a British force over rivers and lakes and across a country untrod den save by the Indian and the trapper, until Fort Garry is gained, and the Queen's authority re-established in the most distant part of her possessions. A few years pass, and again the same leader conducts a small, but trusty band of British soldiers, through a country differing in every characteristic from the scep of his latest exploit, and inhabited by a wily and remorseless enemy; but the end is the same, and our army, after traversing the dense tropical forest and defeating the forces of a brave and hitherto unconquered enemy, planted the standard of their country in the capital of Ashantee. The "last scene of all that ends this strange, eventful history" has only recently been enacted, and the world has witnessed with admiration how the British soldier can overcome fearful odds, or how, if victory is denied him—for even he cannot achieve impossibilities—he can die fighting stubbornly to the last:—

" His closing eyes the beam of valour speak,
The flush of ardour lingers on his cheek,
Serene he lifts to heaven those closing eyes,
Then for his country breathes a prayer—and dies !"

But the slaughter of Isandlana, where England mourned so many noble sons, was amply avenged by the sanguinary repulse of Kambula and the victory of Ulundi, when 4,000 British troops defeated five times their number of Zulu warriors in the open, thus vindicating their martial superiority. Even now, as we write, the scroll of British triumphs is slowly unrolling itself before our eyes, and, within a short month, the British soldier has been triumphant in two continents. On the

28th November the victor of Coomassie established the supremacy of the Queen's authority in South Africa by his brilliant capture of Secoconi's stronghold; and on the 23rd December, by a singular coincidence, the thirty-eighth anniversary of the murder of Sir William Macnaghten, and within sight of the scene of the tragic occurrence—Sir Frederick Roberts gained his victory at Cabul, driving the Afghans in rout from before his entrenched camp. Thus the two youngest generals in the Queen's army have added to their claims on their country's confidence and gratitude, by the signal services rendered in far distant portions of the globe. Would that the operations in the latter case were as decisive as in the former, and that the era of hostile operations in Afghanistan was closed, as it doubtless is in South Africa! Though we may not in every instance endorse the policy which has given rise to these wars and expeditions, none the less must we admire the steady discipline and buoyant gallantry of our soldiers amid difficulties and discouragements, battling against heavy odds and encountering every extreme of climate, from the frozen wastes of Canada to the arid steppes of Central Asia. Such fortitude and endurance as they have displayed we admire in the great nations of antiquity, and they should equally command our applause and evoke our gratitude when exhibited by our countrymen.

The marvellous feature in this record of victories, and one of which foreign critics do not take sufficient account when dwelling on any temporary failure, is the numerical weakness of the army with which these triumphs have been achieved. At the present time we hold a great portion—certainly one-seventh—of the world, garrisoning a chain of forts, and affording security to the colonies and dependencies with which, both as regards extent and population, the Roman Empire, at its proudest time, could bear no comparison, with an army of which the total strength is only 190,000 men. When the great military powers of the Continent undertake hostile operations, against

inferior or native states, they employ powerful armies such as no English general can ever muster to his standard in similar undertakings. Russia required 100,000 soldiers to conquer the Caucasus, and only completed the task after years of prodigious effort; the task of subjugating Turkestan has also taxed her energies for nearly twenty years, and we have recently seen how an army of greater strength than that with which Wolseley, or Chelmsford, achieved success, has been beaten and driven back by an enemy inferior in numbers, if armed with better weapons, than those encountered at Amoaful and Ulundi. The French, again, employed large armies and occupied years in conquering Algeria; and to hold that country, so close to the shores of France, they employ a European force almost as large as that with which we garrison India and all its dependencies. As to the Austrians, to subjugate Bosnia and Herzegovina, provinces adjoining their territory, and having a sparse population of two or three millions, they had in the field, or in motion as a reserve, 140,000 men, while our generals invaded and overran Afghanistan in 1839 with 15,000 men, the distance between Cabul and our nearest frontier fort, Ferozepore, being several hundred miles; and, at the present time, Generals Stewart and Roberts have each only about 12,000 men under their orders.

When Lord Chelmsford's army in Zululand was increased to 20,000 combatants, there was an outcry at home, and it was declared that the demand for reinforcements was excessive, that Alma was fought with no larger an army, and Inkerman with a much smaller one. But according to those best qualified to judge there was not a man too many to keep open the communications, guard a long frontier, and provide reserves, and the military powers of Europe would have assuredly avoided the initial error of commencing the war with a weak division of 5,000 regular troops. But this outcry and our illustrations only prove that it has been our insular habit to require our soldiers to achieve impossibilities, resulting, occasionally,

in a great disaster, upon which there is a popular clamour against the General, when the responsibility should be shared by the Government for employing insufficient means, and by the representatives of the people for grudging the necessary expenditure.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings and occasional reverses, it is a proud and matchless record, that of the British army during the Victorian Age. More than once has the "meteor flag" of England reeled under a sudden blow inflicted by overwhelming odds, but only to be borne aloft victorious in the end, "more, dreadful from each foreign stroke." Thus the horrors enacted at Cabul and Jugdulluck, in the winter of 1841-42, were avenged in the following autumn on the sites whose names are so eloquent of tragic memories. Again it happened that the record of Chillianwallah was effaced by the glories of Goojerat; that the horrifying memories of Cawnpore, Delhi, and Jhansi, were washed out in the torrents of rebel blood shed under the walls, and within the streets, of those cities; and that the disaster of Chinhut, by causing the siege of the Residency, made more complete the retribution exacted at Lucknow. Again, the star of England paled at the repulse at the Taku forts in 1859, but it was only to shine with increased effulgence at the storm of those works in the brilliant campaign closed with the suggestive spectacle of the British flag waving over the capital of Kublai Khan. The disaster of Isandlana, which thrilled with horror the heart of England, was effaced by the victory of Ulundi, and the capture of the king whose savage warriors dealt that staggering blow. Finally, the recent massacre of the heroic band at Cabul—whose names ought to be inscribed somewhere in letters of gold—was swiftly avenged at Charasiab; and the dubious Afghan successes which followed only resulted in the sanguinary repulse of the 23rd December. No Englishman will doubt that, should disaster temporarily cloud the fortunes

of our country in the future, her sons will rally round the flag—

“Till Danger's troubled night depart,
And the star of peace return.”

Exception may be made to a non-professional author undertaking to write the memoirs of distinguished soldiers, to which I would make reply that civilian writers, from Polybius, Plutarch, and Josephus, to Thiers, Carlyle, and Kinglake, have laid themselves open to the same objection. These are mighty names to evoke, and genius, it may be said, will illumine the unaccustomed page, so that I must take my stand on the lower plea that, from my earliest childhood, all my associations were military, my father, grandfather, and six uncles having all served in the Royal or Indian armies. Hence I have a bias for military studies which even many years passed in the sister service has not eradicated.

This selection of biographies does not pretend to completeness. A few have been written, during the past thirteen years, for military magazines, but the greater portion appear in this work for the first time. The collection may be regarded, I trust, as fairly representative, when it is considered that some of the most eminent soldiers of the present reign have already found biographers. Thus Sir William Napier has written the *Life and Opinions* of his brother, the conqueror of Scinde; Lord Combermere—who, however, though he lived into the present reign, cannot be classed in this category, as his military achievements closed with the capture of Bhurtpore in 1826—has found a biographer in Colonel Knollys; Sir Henry Havelock, in his brother-in-law, Mr. Marshman; Sir William Nott, in Mr. Stocqueler; Sir John Burgoyne, in his son-in-law, Colonel Wrottesley; a life of Lord Sandhurst is promised by his son; and the Author of this work has written the *Memoirs* of the late Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, and of Sir Garnet Wolseley.

The biographies contained in this volume are of officers of both the Royal and Indian armies. The memoirs of Sir Henry Durand, Sir George Macgregor,* and Sir Herbert Edwardes afford examples of the career of the soldier-diplomatist for which India has always afforded so magnificent a field. Soldiers of the old school find exponents in such doughty warriors as Lords Gough, Clyde, and Sir Thomas Willshire; those of a later date may well elect to be represented by Lords Strathnairn and Napier, Sir James Outram, and others, while a yet later generation of generals has representatives in Lord Chelmsford, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir Charles Pearson. All alike, whose deeds are recorded in these pages, were animated with the guiding principles of duty and patriotism. Fighting in every clime for the honour and greatness of their country, they regarded it, in the words of Montgomery, as—

“Beloved by Heaven o’er all the world beside.”

A scarcely less powerful incentive than patriotism for the performance of the deeds which have rendered them famous was ambition, a necessary sentiment in the breast of him who would excel in the military profession, for, as the Emperor Baber says:—

“Ambition admits not of inaction;
The world is his who exerts himself.”

But too many of the officers the story of whose lives is told in these pages had to exercise the “magic of patience.”* Lord Clyde and Sir Thomas Willshire—like Sir Henry Havelock, who was 26 years a subaltern—may be instanced as affording conspicuous examples of merit long hid under the bushel of neglect, but shining out as a beacon in the hour of trial.

As we read in the annals of our country the record of the

* That all great soldiers do not possess this virtue is instanced in the case of the Duke of Wellington, of whom it is recorded that, when a subaltern, he applied to Lord Camden, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, for a Commissionership of Customs.

triumphs achieved by our soldiers under Marlborough, at Dettingen, and in the battles of the Peninsula—we were going to add, and at Fontenoy, where 21,000 soldiers of the allied army were placed *hors de combat*—and then see how, in our more peaceful days, the occurrence of a successful skirmish in Afghanistan or Zululand, or a petty reverse,—such, for instance, as the surprise on the Intombi river, when some forty soldiers of the 80th Regiment were slain—is magnified by the press, who straightway sing a pæan of victory, or proclaim to the world “another disaster,” we must experience a feeling of surprise not unmixed with shame, as foreign writers remind us of the “brave days of old.” It is well to reward our gallant soldiers and their skilful leaders, but it is possible to overdo it, and render ourselves and them ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners, by *fêting* every one, from the general to the corporal, so that even honest “Tommy Atkins,” on his return home to his village, finds himself dubbed a “hero,” and is presented with an address, because he did his duty well, or fought desperately when his life was in danger and escape impossible.

Some critics again go to the opposite extreme, that of measuring the importance of battles, and the credit attaching to the general, by the numerical loss sustained by the victors. Such successes as those achieved by Lord Napier in Abyssinia, by Sir Garnet Wolseley in Ashantee, and by some of our leaders in South Africa and Afghanistan, should not be gauged by the strength of the British force engaged, or their casualties, but by their decisiveness, by the strategical and tactical skill of the commanding generals, and by the political results attained. Agincourt is not regarded by patriotic Englishmen, or the verdict of history, as an inconsiderable battle, and yet it would be so considered were we to measure it by the number of killed on the side of the victors. Shakespeare makes the herald announce the names of four of gentle blood slain, and “of

all other men but five-and-twenty,"—on which the English king ejaculates :—

" Without stratagem,
But in plain shock, and even play of battle,
Was over known so great and little loss,
On one part and on the other."

Again, why is Plassey regarded as one of the great battles of history, but because on that historic field the foundations of our Indian Empire were laid? But Clive—of whom the Mahratta chief said at Arcot, that "his behaviour had first convinced him that the English could fight"—had only 1,200 European troops at Plassey, and his total casualties were but 75. Wellington at Assaye and Argaum mustered only three weak British regiments; Lake at Delhi and Laswaree but two; Sir Archibald Campbell achieved his crowning victory of Pagahm Mew with no more than 1,400 troops; and Sir Charles Napier gained Meanee with only 2,800 men, including one British regiment. But yet, by these decisive battles, Wellington and Lake broke the Mahratta power, Campbell brought a long and arduous war to a glorious conclusion and won some valuable maritime provinces, and Napier annexed Scinde to the British Empire.

The battles of antiquity emphasise the same lesson, though exaggeration by ancient historians as to the numerical strength of the armies and their losses is undoubted. Thus, at the classic field of Marathon, the Athenian army numbered only 10,000 men, but the genius of Miltiades triumphed over the Persian hosts. Again, the famous retreat of the "Ten Thousand" Greeks, of which, to borrow Macaulay's words, "every school-boy has read" in the pages of Xenophon, was preceded by the decisive battle of Cunaxa, where Cyrus triumphed, but met his death. It may seem ridiculous to us, in these prosaic times, to make these comparisons, but in the course of centuries, when all South Africa, from the Congo to Table Bay, is as thickly populated as the British Islands, and the Zulu,

Kaffir, and Hottentot have disappeared, as are doing the native races of Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, then, perhaps, the actions of Kambula and Ulundi, the defence of Rorke's Drift, and the last stand at Isandlana, with the names of the principal heroes, may be enshrined in song and legend by some South African Homer or Tennyson, for in that far distant age these and other episodes of the war will be magnified by the haze of antiquity into deeds such as we read of in the *Iliad* or the Arthurian legends.

The pen is called, by the author of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, "that mighty instrument of little men," but Lord Byron—who owed his fame to "his gray-goose quill," which he apostrophises so contemptuously—should have been the last to disparage the humble medium by which his fiery stanzas have been wafted to the four quarters of the globe, and made the heritage of future ages. The pen is, indeed, a "mighty instrument," when wielded by the hand of genius, and confers what we, in our limited view of time, call immortality, though Kirke White says, with true philosophy:—

"Time must conquer, and the loudest blast
That ever filled Renown's obstreperous trump
Fades, in the lapse of ages, and expires."

Nevertheless 'tis well that the services of some of England's gallant soldiers, who have added provinces to her world-wide Empire, or saved those she already possessed, should find a record in the pages of the annalist.

C. R. LOW.

KENSINGTON,
January, 1880.

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SOLDIERS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE.

GENERAL SIR. THOMAS WILLSHIRE,
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PART I.

Early Life and Character—On Service in South America—The Repulse at Buenos Ayres—Expedition to Portugal—Battles of Rorica and Vimiero—The Retreat to Coruuna—Battle of Coruuna—The Expedition to Walcheren—Death of Captain John Willshire—Return to the Peninsula—Battle of Salamanca—Retreat from Burgos—Battle of Vittoria—Siege of San Sebastian—Passage of the Bidassoa—Battles of the Nive—Siege of Bayonne—The Waterloo Campaign—On Service in South Africa—Repulse of the Kaffirs at Grahamstown—Proceeds to India—Capture of Kitteroor.

BIOGRAPHIES of eminent men are, in our opinion, among the most instructive of literary studies, and, in the case of our most distinguished soldiers and sailors, they possess the additional charm attaching to adventure by flood and field. If it is instructive to the young to learn how talent or industry—for few can possess that greatest of all gifts, genius—in any profession or walk of life, obtains for itself eminence, thus affording hope and encouragement to those beginning the struggle of life, how much more interesting is the perusal of the record when the subject of the narrative is engaged, not in the selfish furtherance of his own advancement, but in the patriotic duty of combating the enemies of his country on the munificent pay doled out to him, his only prospect, if he emerges alive and victorious out of the struggle, the ribbon of a military Order, and the gratification of handing down to his children and countrymen the honoured name of one who had deserved well

of the State. Such a biography is that of Sir Thomas Willshire, though, owing to the gallant General having lost his journals and memoranda in India, the materials are rather meagre, but we hope, nevertheless, that the dictum of Thomas Carlyle may be established in this case, that "Biography is not only the most pleasant, but the most profitable of all reading."

In the year 1796, there died in London a merchant, named Noah Willshire, who left two daughters and two sons, the younger of whom, John, born in 1762, was the father of the subject of this memoir. John Willshire possessed the instincts of the soldier, and expressed his desire to enter the profession of arms, but his father strongly opposed the choice, and refused to purchase him a commission. Not to be turned from his purpose, this aspirant for military glory, like many good men and true who have lived to become the ornaments of the Service, enlisted as a private in the 38th Regiment. In 1782, when only twenty years of age, he married Miss Mary Linden, whose personal beauty was inherited by her children. Her eldest son died in infancy, but the three who lived to reach manhood, Thomas, William, and John, were all remarkable for their handsome features and tall, stalwart figures. John Willshire, the father, rose rapidly, and, in 1790, was appointed quartermaster; on the 25th of November, 1793, adjutant; and in April, 1801, paymaster, of the 38th Regiment, his commissions in which as ensign and lieutenant were dated, respectively, the 15th of May and the 22nd of November, 1793.

Thomas, the future General, was born at Birch Cove, Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where the regiment was stationed,* on the

* So mentioned in the family papers, though, according to other sources, as the *Military Calendar* and MS. papers in the Royal United Service Institution, the regiment would appear to have been stationed at Plymouth during the whole of the year 1789. The 38th left Plymouth in January, 1790, for Ireland, where it remained for some years, and whence it embarked for the West Indies, was present at the capture of Martinique on the 22nd of March, 1794, by General Sir Charles Grey and Admiral Sir John Jervis; at the capture of St. Lucia on the 14th of April and at the second capture of the same place on the 14th of May, 1796, by Sir Ralph Abercromby and Admiral Christie; and, finally, participated in the capture of Trinidad in 1797, under Colonel (afterwards Sir) Miles Nightingale. The 38th returned to England, in 1800. The Memoranda of the movements of the regiment disclose discrepancies that cannot be reconciled. According to the MS. papers above referred to, the regiment embarked at Cork for Ostend, in Flanders, in April, 1793, and only proceeded to the West Indies in 1796, whence it returned to England in 1800. In April of the following year, the regiment embarked for Ireland only one hundred strong, and on arrival, was completed to its normal complement by volunteers from the British Militia regiments stationed there. While in the Emerald Isle, it was denominated the "Flower Regiment of Ireland." In 1802, the 38th returned to England and was quartered at Lichfield, and, in 1804, a second battalion was added. In 1805 the regiment proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and, in August, 1806, sailed thence for La Plata.

24th of August, 1789, and came to England with his parents when a few months old. His early years were passed near Windsor, where, singularly enough, his last hours on earth were spent. King George III. on one occasion caressed the child who was destined to adorn the reign of his illustrious grand-daughter by his gallantry, and his family long preserved a sovereign the good old King gave to the nurse. Thomas, with his two brothers, went for a few months to a school at King's Lynn, in Norfolk, and thence proceeded to a larger school in Kensington. An incident is told of our hero, then a very young boy, while at King's Lynn, which is characteristic of him. On one occasion he was walking with an older school-fellow, who had stolen a pigeon from a neighbouring farmer's dovecot, and seeing one of the masters coming, the young defaulter, afraid of detection and its consequences, seized Thomas Willshire's straw hat, placed the pigeon inside, and replaced the hat on the little boy's head. When the master came up, he turned angrily round to complain of young Willshire's disrespect in not saluting him, and knocked off his hat with his cane, when out flew the pigeon. Willshire was punished for his supposed deceit, but never betrayed the real author of the mischief. He was a very merry boy, full of fun, and so great a talker that his father often complained of this propensity, adding, "Tom, do you expect you will have any tongue left when you grow up?" But when the boy had grown to man's estate, he was remarkable for his taciturnity and gravity, and no one less indulged in idle talk.

From his mother he inherited a fondness for music, especially for simple ballads, and sang them himself with taste and feeling. Moore's "Melodies" were his particular favourites to the end of his life, and he would accompany himself on the piano, and could also play a little on the flute. Ever anxious to improve himself, he at one time took lessons in drawing, but never had leisure to pursue this art to any extent. His mathematical precision often led him, however, to draw on paper what he wished to see accurately carried into effect, such as the movements of a battalion or the plan of a fort.

From his earliest days he was remarkable for filial affection and obedience to his parents, and he has himself stated that never but once did he seriously transgress in this respect. It was just as he was about to go into action in one of the early Peninsula battles, and the occasion he remembered and spoke of with contrition to the end of his life. He was in the act of winding up his watch, when his father called to him, impatiently,

to take his place at the head of his company, telling him he would be late, and adding, "Tom, come on directly." His son, irritated at this, twisted the key violently, and broke the spring of his watch, when he uttered an exclamation of vexation at this accident, and also blamed his father aloud for having caused it by needlessly hurrying him on, adding, "I wish, father, you would let me alone." He then took his place in the midst of the troops, but those words, thus disrespectfully uttered, never left his mind, and he declared to his children that often during the day he bitterly thought of them, as perchance the father he had thus spoken to might be killed, or he himself might fall, without having been able to ask pardon for his undutiful conduct and hasty ebullition of temper. It is a beautiful trait, this of filial obedience, and, in our estimation, does more honour to the memory of the gallant veteran than any of his numerous acts of heroism.

The father, on his part, had repeated cause to bless his son, who, unlike most of the young officers of his day, eschewed self-indulgence and extravagance and the fashionable follies of the period, though, from his handsome person and agreeable manners, he was much sought after and liked in society. On one occasion, however, he fell into temptation. When on board ship, he was induced to gamble, a vice then so universal amongst all ranks, and having lost money at cards which he could not pay, he went to his father, disclosed to him the circumstances, and asked him for help to discharge this debt of honour. Captain Willshire was unwilling to pay for what he justly considered a foolish waste of money, but on his son assuring him that it should not occur again, he paid the obligation, and Thomas vowed he would never touch a card again. This promise to his father he kept most religiously, and nothing ever would induce him to take a hand in a game of cards, while his scrupulous punctiliousness in avoiding debt and paying bills was notorious to all who knew him. Punctuality and exactitude in all he undertook were his conspicuous characteristics, and he would laugh at his own methodical ways. So likewise with regard to the habit of smoking, in which he had freely indulged during his military career in foreign countries. Considering, with that chivalrous feeling for which he was distinguished, that the practice was an unpleasant one in the society of ladies, he resolved to give it up when he returned to England and was released from campaigning life; and it is related of him that, as the vessel which brought him home neared the British shore, he took from his mouth the cigar he

was then smoking and flung it into the sea, exclaiming, "There, that is the last I shall ever smoke," and so it proved to be, for he steadily refused any offer of a "weed" from that time.

A ruling principle of his character was to be as exact in the trifling matters of daily life, as in the most important duties which devolved on him as a military commander. His simple contentedness of disposition was remarkable, and he was always satisfied with the plainest and most frugal diet. During the campaigning in Walcheren, Africa, and South America, as well as in the terrible retreat from Corunna, he underwent pain, privation, and discomfort of no common order, but he took his share without complaint or further thought. Such was the character of this fine old officer, and these traits afford the clue to his professional success, and the esteem in which he was held in every relation of life. Exact in fulfilling his duties, he required the same exactitude in others, and though a strict disciplinarian, "Tiger Tom," as he was called in the Service, had a kind heart, and more than one instance have we heard of a young officer saved from ruin by the timely discharge of debts by the stern Colonel of his regiment.

Captain John Willshire, being desirous that his sons should follow the profession of arms, procured commissions for them in his own regiment when they were children—a custom which was abrogated by the Duke of York—and we find the name of Thomas Willshire enrolled as an officer in the 38th Regiment, at the early age of five years and ten months, his commission as an ensign bearing date the 24th of June, 1795, and as a lieutenant, the 5th of September following. To meet the question of efficiency—as the time for the annual inspections drew near, when the names of officers were called over by the inspecting officer—the youthful aspirants for military honours were sent away from home, and the answer given at the roll-call was that they were "absent on leave," or "recruiting." The fiction was a transparent one, and when the abuse was animadverted upon in the House of Commons, O'Connell, we believe, gave utterance to some pleasantries at the expense of the young gentlemen in the nursery who were enjoying the contents of the pap-boat. •

In January, 1798, Lieutenant Willshire, though only a child in his ninth year, appears to have joined the regiment, then stationed at Saintes, in the West Indies, and his name does not again appear in the list of absent officers. His father, Lieutenant and Adjutant Willshire, was the senior lieutenant of the regiment at this period, and was appointed paymaster at Newry, in Ireland, on the 3rd of April, 1801, the 38th having returned

from the West Indies in the previous year. Our hero attained the rank of captain on the 28th of August, 1804. We find that on the 1st of January, 1806, when the regiment was at the Cape,* he being probably with the dépôt, Captain Willshire attended, in the capacity of second, a duel between two young officers, which had a fatal termination. It appears the combatants were formerly in the same regiment, but, owing to a serious disagreement, the Commander-in-Chief ordered that they should be placed in different corps. On their meeting at Nottingham, however, the old animosity revived. The result was a challenge, with the termination detailed in the following extract from the "Annals of Nottingham," for 1806 :—"A duel, attended with fatal consequences, and the circumstances attending which created an intense degree of excitement in the public mind, took place this year on the 1st of January. The parties engaged were Ensign Browne, of the 36th Regiment (a youth only seventeen years of age), and Lieutenant Butler, of the 83rd Regiment, both of whom were on the recruiting service at Nottingham. The quarrel took place at the 'Fox and Crown' public-house, at Bashford. Pistols being obtained, the combatants and their seconds retired to a secluded spot of ground, and on the word 'Fire!' the youthful antagonist fell mortally wounded, his opponent's shot having passed through his body. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Lieutenant Butler and the seconds, all of whom absconded. The leader in this fatal affair was Lieutenant Hall, a reckless, profligate fellow, who returned to the town some ten years after, but was never apprehended. His companions also escaped with impunity." Ensign Browne received the ball in his heart, and

* From Memoranda relating to the movements of the 38th Regiment (which still awaits an historian), it appears that, in 1805, the first battalion formed part of a force of 5,000 or 6,000 men, under Sir David Baird, destined for the capture of the Cape Colony, and was brigaded with the 24th and 83rd Regiments, under Brigadier-General (afterwards Lord) Beresford. The troops sailed in August, 1805—convoysed by a fleet consisting of three 74's, two frigates and some gun-brigs, under Commodore Sir Home Popham—and a landing was effected on the 6th of January, 1806, at Lospards Bay, near Cape Town. An action took place on the 9th, and the Colony was surrendered on the 18th by General Janssens, and has ever since remained an integral portion of the British dominions. In April, a small force embarked for Rio de la Plata, to take part in the Expedition planned by the naval and military chiefs at the Cape. On the 28th of June, 1806, Buenos Ayres surrendered to General Beresford and Sir Home Popham, but on the 12th of August the Spaniards succeeded in recapturing it. In the following August, the 38th and 47th Regiments were despatched from the Cape by Sir David Baird to reinforce General Beresford, and, in company with a detachment of the 54th, and three squadrons of dismounted dragoons, landed on the 29th of October and captured Maldonado. In the same month, Sir Samuel Auchmuty sailed from England to reinforce General Beresford, and on his arrival in February, 1807, the combined force stormed the town of Monte Video.

expired immediately, without uttering a word. Captain Willshire was in no way concerned in promoting this unhappy quarrel, and only acted the ungrateful part of second, which, from the state of public feeling at that day as regards duelling, when the Prime Minister even had "gone out," he could not have refused to undertake without compromising his position as a military man. Soon after this escapade Captain Willshire proceeded to La Plata, but it does not appear from his papers that he participated in the capture of Monte Video, on the 3rd of February, 1807, when Colonel Vassal, * commanding the 38th Regiment, was killed.

On the 24th of February, 1807, Lieutenant-General Whitelocke was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces "employed in the reduction of the Spanish settlements at Buenos Ayres" (as his commission ran), and the force placed at his disposal was of considerable strength, † as appears from his letters of instruction from the Horse Guards, dated the 25th of February, 1807, and from Downing Street, signed by the Secretary at War, Mr. Wyndham, dated the 5th of March ensuing. Among the regiments enumerated in this former document, and described as "embarked at Portsmouth and to proceed with you to your destination," is the 1st Battalion, 38th Regiment, with a strength of 811 bayonets, though it would appear from the circumstance that the battalion was engaged at the capture of Monte Video, that it was already in South America. On the 10th of May, General Whitelocke arrived at Monte Video, and on the 15th of June, 1807, his column of 5,300 men was reinforced by General Craufurd's division of 4,200, intercepted at the Cape on its way to India. In company with Admiral Murray, every arrangement was immediately made for the recapture of Buenos Ayres, the 38th being brigaded with the 5th and 87th Regiments, under Sir Samuel Auchmuty.

Leaving a garrison of 1,300 men, including two companies of the 38th, at Monte Video, General Whitelocke effected a landing

* The remains of this officer were removed to the family vault at St. Paul's, Bristol, and a handsome monument was erected, with the motto:—"Every bullet has its billet."

† The troops, at this time in the River Plata, numbered 5,338 men, including the 38th Regiment and the 40th, 47th, 71st, 83rd and 89th Regiments, with detachments of the 20th, 21st and 54th Regiments, and three companies of the 95th Regiment; also the 9th and 17th Light Dragoons, with detachment of Royal Artillery. Another column, sent to India under General Craufurd, was detained at the Cape, and directed to proceed to the Plata River, and consisted of the 6th Dragoon Guards, detachment of Royal Artillery, and the 5th, 36th, 45th, 88th, and five companies of the 95th; total, 4,212 men.

on the 28th of June, at Ensenada de Barrogon, a small bay about thirty miles eastward of the town, and, after fatiguing marches through a country intersected by swamps and deep muddy rivulets, the army reached Reduction, a village about nine miles distant from the bridge over the river Chusello, on the opposite bank of which the enemy had constructed batteries and established a formidable line of defence. General Whitelocke turned the position by crossing the river higher up, and uniting his forces in the suburbs of Buenos Ayres, on the 9th of July, formed his line with Sir S. Achmuty's brigade on his left, the 38th being at the end of the line. In the dispositions for the attack of the town and suburbs—which were divided into squares of 140 yards each side, every house being flat-roofed, and occupied with its defenders—the 38th Regiment was directed to possess itself of the Plaza de Toros and the adjacent strong post, where it was to remain, while each regiment was ordered, in accordance with Whitelocke's despatch of the 10th of July, 1807, "to proceed along the street directly in its front till it arrived at the last square of houses, next the River Plata, of which it was to possess itself, forming on the flat roofs and there await for further orders." We will not describe in detail the operations of the 5th of July, which were disastrous in the extreme, ending in the loss of 2,500 men killed, wounded and prisoners, the latter, according to a return made by General Craufurd, himself among the number, being ninety-four regimental officers, twelve staff, and 1,818 men, so that the actual casualties were not more than 500. The result of the day's action left General Whitelocke in possession of the Residencia, a strong post on the enemy's left, and the Plaza de Toros, on the right, which was captured by the 38th Regiment.

The regiment marched from their cantonments about five o'clock in the morning, under command of Colonel Nugent, and halted at a place pointed out by Sir Samuel Achmuty, in a road leading to the church of Recola, with their rear clear of the line to be occupied by the left column of the 87th Regiment. On the commencement of the cannonade, at half-past six, the regiment pushed forwards, and, in about twenty minutes, arrived in a narrow lane leading to the Plaza de Toros, at the head of which was a large house occupied by a detachment of the enemy, who kept up a sharp fire on the column as it approached. The door, however, was in a short time forced, and the defenders within were bayoneted. The enemy had a numerous artillery on the outside of the Plaza de Toros, which Colonel Nugent endeavoured to capture, but was compelled to abandon the attempt,

owing to a destructive fire by which the regiment suffered some loss. He says :—" I gave it over, expecting to get possession of a large house looking on the river, and situated on the edge of the cliff, and at that time also occupied by the enemy, in order by that means to silence their guns and turn their right flank. Accordingly, two companies were detached for that purpose, who, having first possessed themselves of the house, afterwards sallied out by a back-door and charged the enemy in the fort and barracks of the Retiro, on the flag-staff of which we hoisted our colours; from which they retreated, spiking all their guns but one 12-pounder, which we immediately turned on the Plaza de Toros. The good effect of this was soon observed, as, after every round, numbers were seen to rush out, endeavouring to escape towards the town. On continuing the cannonade for some time a white handkerchief was shown by the enemy in the building, and at half-past nine the remainder of them within, amounting to about 4,000 men, surrendered at discretion." * Soon afterwards Sir Samuel Achmuty, who had joined Colonel Nugent during the cannonade, ordered the 87th Regiment to relieve a company of the 38th, which had been placed in charge of the prisoners in the Plaza de Toros, and to join the regiment, which was posted at different points of the Retiro and at the ends of the streets leading into the town. During the day, Brigadier-General Lumley, with the 5th and 36th Regiments, joined the 38th at their position. In achieving this successful result, the 38th Regiment lost one officer and eight men killed, and one officer and forty-one rank and file wounded.

General Whitelocke writes in his official despatch of the services of the regiment :—" At half-past six o'clock of the morning of the 5th of July, the 38th Regiment moving towards its left, and the 87th straight to its front, approached the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros, and after a most vigorous and spirited attack, in which the regiments suffered much from grape-shot and musketry, their gallant Commander, Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Achmuty, possessed himself of the post, taking thirty-two pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and 600 prisoners." Speaking of the difficulties encountered by his troops, General Whitelocke says :—" The enemy had dug ditches across the principal streets, and placed cannon within them; he occupied the flat roofs of all the houses in commanding situations, and from thence and the windows, fired a destructive fire of musketry, hand-grenades, fire-pots, &c., upon the columns as they advanced; having likewise had

* See Colonel Nugent's evidence before the Court Martial on General Whitelocke.

the precaution to barricade the doors in so strong a manner as to render them very difficult to force, though the troops had been provided with instruments for that purpose. Every householder, with his negroes, defended his dwelling; and it is perhaps not too much to say that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence, which very population in the field would probably not have withstood the attack of two British regiments."

Captain John Willshire participated in these operations and had the proud satisfaction of beholding his three gallant sons, all mere youths, fighting in the regiment, the subject of this Memoir as captain, the second, William Willshire, as a lieutenant, and the youngest, John Willshire, whose name appears in the *Gazette* as "severely wounded,"* as an ensign. On the following morning, General Whitelocke received a letter from the Spanish General, Liniers, offering to give up all his prisoners, nearly 4,000 men—including the 71st Regiment with other troops, and General Beresford, captured before the disastrous operations of the 5th of July—if the British Commander would withdraw from the province, including Monte Video, which was to be evacuated at the end of two months. As his force was reduced to less than 5,000 men, and he was fearful for the prisoners, for whose safety General Liniers said he could not answer, General Whitelocke, on the 7th of July, with the approval of his officers, acceded to these humiliating terms, and the army was embarked for England. The history of this campaign may be found detailed in the proceedings of the Court Martial for the trial of General Whitelocke, held at Chelsea between the 28th of January and the 15th of March, 1808, under the presidency of General Right Honourable Sir W. Medows, K.B.,† which resulted in the cashiering of that officer. Thus ended this episode of English military history, which—with one or two others of a like disastrous character, as, for instance, the Expedition to Egypt in 1805—we have a faculty of ignoring in our chronicles, though, perhaps, the occasional remembrance affords a wholesome corrective to the habit of regarding our soldiers as invincible.

After being quartered for a short time in Ireland, Captain Willshire embarked from Cork for Portugal, with the 38th Regiment, on the 16th of June, 1808. The regiment, on landing,

* We find that he received from the Patriotic Fund a gratuity of 25l. "blood-money."

† Among the members of the Court was General Lord Lake, the "hero of Delhi and Laswarrie," who died while the Court was sitting.

was brigaded with the 5th and 9th, under Major-General Rowland Hill, and, with the latter most distinguished regiment, in which the late Lord Clyde was then serving as a lieutenant, participated in the Peninsular War.

At this time, though the British army numbered 80,000 men, a large portion was frittered away in useless expeditions, 10,000 being in Sweden, and as many more in Sicily; of the remainder a large force was at Gibraltar, and General Spencer had 5,000 men in Portugal, the French army in the Peninsula numbering 120,000 troops. The Government had actually collected 9,000 men to prosecute further operations in South America, but their destination was altered, and, on the 12th of July, Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Cork and commenced his marvellous career of conquest. Scarcely, however, had he sailed than he was superseded by Sir Hew Dalrymple; and Sir John Moore, who had returned from Sweden with his division, found himself displaced by Sir Henry Burrard, the two most capable generals of the army being placed in positions subordinate to soldiers unused to high command.

Between the 1st and 5th of August, Sir Arthur was engaged landing his troops in the Mondego River, where he was joined by General Spencer's division, when the combined force marched towards Lisbon. On the morning of the 17th of August, issuing from Ovidos, with an army of 12,300 British troops and 18 guns, and 1,400 Portuguese auxiliaries, Sir Arthur Wellesley attacked, in their position at the village of Roriça,* a French army under General Laborde. The result was a complete victory, the British loss being nearly 500 men, and that of the French 600. Marshal Junot reinforced Laborde with Loison's division on the 19th, and pushed on for Torres Vedras, and, on the same day, Sir Arthur Wellesley took up a position at Vimiero, a village near the sea-coast, nine miles distant, where he was joined by two brigades from England under Generals Anstruther and Acland, thus raising his army to 16,000 fighting men. In the action that ensued the 38th was brigaded with the 1st, 5th and 9th Regiments, forming the right wing of General Hill's division. Junot marched to the attack on the morning of the 21st of August with 14,000 men, but after a desperate conflict, by noon the battle was won, and the French were beaten and in full retreat, leaving thirteen guns in the hands of the victors and 2,000 men on the field of battle.

But the enemy were not pursued, and the full effects of this

* Called also Roliça and Roleia, though we have adopted the nomenclature of Napier, the historian of the Peninsular War.

great success were neutralized, owing to the command having been assumed, at the termination of the action, by Sir Harry Burrard, who had arrived off the coast on the previous evening; though he again was relieved, on the following day, by Sir Hew Dalrymple. Junot, Duke of Abrantes, profiting by this change of commanders, was enabled to rally his shattered forces, and showed so good a front that Sir Hew Dalrymple agreed to his proposal, made through General Kellerman, for the conclusion of a convention by which the French forces should evacuate Portugal without further resistance, and be transported to France, an agreement which, it is only just to mention, received the general approbation of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The "Convention of Cintra," as it is called (though it was concluded thirty miles from there), was finally signed on the 30th of August, and the French army embarked from Lisbon between the 15th and 30th of September. The popular clamour against the British generals for concluding this Convention was outrageous and unreasonable, and they were arraigned before a Court of Inquiry, held in London, as though they had been guilty of treason, instead of having successfully concluded almost the only victorious campaign recently conducted by British arms.

Captain Willshire, who, though a mere boy in years, was a veteran in service, was fortunate in having been present at the two victories of Rorica and Vimiero.

On the recall of the British Generals, including Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir John Moore assumed command of the army in Portugal on the 6th of October. Lord William Bentinck hastened to Madrid, whence King Joseph had fled after the Battle of Baylen, to arrange a plan of co-operation with the Spanish generals, and Colonel Thomas Graham proceeded to head-quarters on the Ebro. But Napoleon, incensed at the disgrace suffered for the first time by French arms, made immediate preparations to drive Ferdinand from the throne and the "English leopard into the sea," and sent into Spain 200,000 troops, including the veterans of Jena, Austerlitz, and Friedland.* To meet these vast armies, there were the untrustworthy Spanish levies in the field, a division of 10,000 men sent from England to Corunna, under Sir David Baird, and the army in Portugal with which Captain Willshire was serving in the 38th Regiment. On the 26th of October Sir John Moore marched from

* See Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, to which great work we are much indebted. The total strength of the French army in Spain, under the personal command of the Emperor Napoleon, on the 15th November, 1808, is given as 335,223 men, 60,728 horses, and 200 guns.

Lisbon in three columns, by Alcantara, Abrantes and Coimbra, in the direction of Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo—the cavalry of 1,000 troopers (in which branch the British army was very weak, a want of horsemen having crippled Wellesley at Rorica and Vimiero) and eighteen of his twenty-four guns, escorted by 3,000 infantry, marching by the Talavera road, under the command of Sir John Hope. The march of the British troops, described by Napier as “superb in condition, and their discipline exemplary,” was rapid, and by the 8th of November, the main army and head-quarters were assembled at Almeida.

But the great Autocrat of Europe, quitting Bayonne on the 8th of November, put his enormous armies into motion, and with rapid and heavy blows inflicted at Gamonal and Espinosa, in ten days laid at his feet the north of Spain and secured the whole coast from St. Sebastian to the frontier of the Asturias; these successes were followed up by the victory of Tudela, which placed Arragon, Navarre and Castille at his mercy, when the only barrier to the complete subjugation of Spain lay in the small British army under Sir John Moore, and the towns of Madrid and Saragossa, which still defied the conqueror. On the 2nd of December, Napoleon arrived before Madrid and summoned the city to surrender, but it was not until the morning of the 4th, when the Retiro was stormed and the barriers leading into the city were taken, that the populace agreed to capitulate—the Captain-General, Castellar, effecting his retreat with the regular troops and sixteen guns. Thus, in six weeks, the Spanish armies were dispersed, and the hitherto invincible Corsican concluded his address to the citizens of Madrid in these words:—“The English armies I will drive from the Peninsula; Saragossa, Valencia, Seville, shall be reduced either by persuasion or by the force of arms.”

The dangers now threatening the army of Sir John Moore were such as to appal the stoutest heart and test the highest qualities of generalship, for the four French *corps d'armée* were nearer to Lisbon than his small force, and, while menacing the enemy's line of operations on the side of Burgos, he was compelled to relinquish his communications with the capital of Portugal, and adopt a new line upon Corunna. On the 8th of November he was at Almeida, on the frontier of Portugal, on the 11th he crossed into Spain, but owing to want of transport, it was not until the 23rd, the day that Castanos and Palafox were disastrously beaten at Tudela, that the centre column of 12,000 men, with 6 guns, was concentrated at Salamanca, Sir John Hope's division, on the 26th, being between Escorial and

Talavera, and Sir David Baird's, advancing from the sea-coast, between Astorga and Lugo. But the collapse of the Spanish defence, and the skill and celerity of Napoleon rendered Moore's position extremely precarious, while the divisions of Hope and Baird could not concentrate on Salamanca in less than twenty days. At first this truly great soldier determined on the hazardous step of rallying the Spanish armies behind the Tagus, for the defence of the southern provinces of Spain, trusting to the patriotism and spirit of the people for support, but the news of the crushing defeat at Tudela altered his plans, and he resolved to fall back into Portugal and directed Baird to regain Corunna, Hope also being ordered to join him, which he did by a succession of masterly movements. But the pressing letters addressed to him by Mr. Frere, the British plenipotentiary at Madrid—who, though in company with the Central Junta he had fled on Napoleon's approach, was influenced by the traitor Morla's assertion that the citizens were prepared to make a desperate resistance—induced him to reconsider his decision, and he determined to operate against the communications of the French army, a resolution which even the fall of Madrid did not alter. On the 11th of December Sir John Moore, with his own and Hope's divisions, marched towards Valladolid, and on the 20th united with Baird, the actual effective strength being 19,000 infantry, 2,300 cavalry and 1,350 artillerymen with 60 pieces of ordnance. By the 23rd, he had attained his main object of drawing Napoleon from the south and delaying the siege of Saragossa, and, as his army was on the verge of destruction, owing to the enemy gathering in overpowering strength in his front, he began his memorable retreat, of the miseries and horrors of which our hero was a participant.

On the 26th of December Sir David Baird crossed the Esla River, and Sir John Moore occupied Benevente and recovered his communications with Astorga, towards which Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, was directing his march. The army had two days' rest at Benevente, and, on the 29th of December, Hope's and Mackenzie Fraser's divisions, to the latter of which the 38th was attached, reached Astorga, where Baird's division joined them from Valencia San Juan. The British cavalry, notably the 10th Hussars, led by Lord Paget, greatly distinguished themselves when covering the retreat from Benevente, as, in company with the 15th Hussars, they had already done at Sahagun on the 21st of the month.

Napoleon, pressing on his other corps, arrived at Valderas, Ney at Villaton, and Lapisse at Toro, but, owing to the

destruction of the bridge over the Esla, it was the 30th before Bessières, Duke of Istria, could cross with 9,000 cavalry, when he took possession of La Banceza. After supplying his pressing wants from the stores he had accumulated at Astorga, Sir John Moore directed the destruction of the remainder, and pressing on, the Light Brigade separated from the main army at Bonillas, on the 31st, and bent their course by cross-roads to Orense and Vigo, while Fraser's and Hope's divisions entered Villa Franca, and Baird's division was at Bemibre. So close were the opposing columns that, on this day, Sir John Moore, with his reserve, was at Cambarros, a village six miles from Astorga, of which the Emperor Napoleon took possession on the first day of the new year, with an army of 70,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 200 guns, thus having crossed the Carpentinos mountains in the depth of winter, and traversed 200 miles of hostile country in ten days. At this point, being recalled to France by adverse news from Austria, Napoleon directed Marshal Soult to continue the pursuit, increasing his corps by three divisions of cavalry and three of infantry, though the number the Duke of Dalmatia was enabled to take with him was only 25,000 men, including 4,200 cavalry with 54 guns, Marshal Ney being in support with 16,000 men and 37 guns, and the divisions of Loison and Heudelet following by forced marches.

Soult vigorously pressed the pursuit of the British army, which, weakened by the separation of the light brigade, now mustered only 19,000 men of all arms, and Sir John Moore, harassed by the enemy's cavalry, and deficient in supplies and means of transport, marched rapidly for the coast. At this time the troops, disorganized by the rapidity of the retreat and distressed by the weather, committed great excesses at Villa Franca, plundering magazines and wine-stores and losing all sense of discipline, the confusion being increased by the proximity of the French, some of whose cavalry entered the village of Bemibre almost before the reserve, under Sir John Moore, had quitted it. On the 3rd of January, at the Guia River, a smart skirmish took place, 200 or 300 being killed on either side. On the 5th, Sir John Moore, with the reserve, reached Herreras, Hope's and Fraser's divisions were near Lugo, and Baird's at Nogales. On this day, finding that Vigo, where he had intended to embark, offered no position to cover the embarkation, Sir John Moore determined to make for Corunna, to which the transports were directed to proceed. He also decided to give the enemy battle at Lugo, and sent orders to Sir David

Baird to direct the leading division, Fraser's, to halt there; but that officer forwarded the despatch by a private dragoon, who got drunk on the way and lost it. This *contretemps* was ruinous to Fraser's troops, for, says Napier, "in lieu of resting two days at Lugo, that General unwittingly pursued his toilsome journey to St. Jago de Compostella, and then returned, without food or rest, losing by this pilgrimage above 400 stragglers."

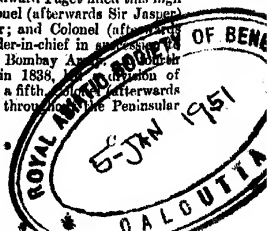
The sufferings endured by the army and camp-followers during this disastrous retreat were terrible. "On the road near Nogales," says the historian, "the following of the army were dying fast from cold and hunger. The soldiers, harassed and weakened by their excesses at Bembibre and Villa Franca, were dropping to the rear by hundreds. Broken carts, dead animals, and the piteous appearance of women with children, struggling or falling exhausted in the snow, completed a picture of war, which, like Janus, has a double face." At Nogales, the rear-guard, closely pressed by the French, were compelled to abandon dollars to the amount of 25,000*l.*, which were rolled down a hill and gathered by the enemy and Gallician peasants. A skirmish took place between the rear-guard and the French at Constantino, and the whole army being assembled at Lugo on the 7th of January, 1809, Sir John Moore issued an order, administering a severe rebuke to officers and men for their previous want of discipline, and announcing his intention to offer battle. A partial action ensued between the van of Soult's army, numbering 12,000 men, and the British army, which, though it had lost 1,500 men in the retreat, had been made up to 16,000 infantry, 1,800 cavalry and forty guns, by the junction of three fresh battalions of Sir David Baird's division, which, in his advance on Astorga, he had left between Villa Franca and Lugo. Soult was repulsed, and, though reinforced to a strength of 17,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry and 50 guns, hesitated to attack, as victory would bring no advantage to him, and Ney was two marches in his rear with 20,000 troops.

Sir John Moore, after waiting in battle array for two days, determined to decamp in the night of the 8th. At ten p.m., leaving the camp-fires burning, the retreat was continued, but a terrible storm of wind and rain arose, destroying the marks, consisting of bundles of straw, the general had placed at certain intervals on the track, and causing the guides to lose their way. Only one division gained the right road, and at daybreak the rear columns were still near Lugo; the men, dispirited by their hardships, lost all discipline, and we are told "complete disorganisation followed, plunder succeeded, and the

main body of the army, which had bivouacked for six hours in the rain, arrived at Betanzos on the evening of the 9th, in a state very discreditable to its discipline." Sir John Moore covered the march with the cavalry and reserve, the latter commanded by General Edward Paget,* "an officer distinguished during the retreat by his firmness, ability and zeal," and picked up the numerous stragglers. A halt was made on the 10th at Betanzos, where the army, weakened by losses, mustered some 14,000 infantry, and, on the following day, with the cavalry at the head of the column, the march was continued towards Corunna. "The orderly manner in which it was conducted by the Commander-in-chief," says Napier, "demonstrated that inattention and the want of experience in the officers was the true cause of these disorders, which had afflicted the army far more than the sword of the enemy or the rigour of the elements."

During the retreat now concluded, Captain Willshire, with his father and two brothers, shared in all the hardships from which the army suffered. On one occasion, he was so exhausted from want of rest that, finding it impossible to keep himself awake and fearing that he might unconsciously fall out of his place in the ranks, he fastened a rope round his waist and tied it to the tail of a baggage-mule, and thus, literally walking in his sleep, was dragged along with his company. Having lost every article he possessed, he, in common with others, was left destitute of any clothing beyond that which he wore for weeks together. One day, during a temporary halt, Captain Willshire and his brother William having discovered a clear lake, went in to bathe, and before putting on their ragged shirts, one proposed to the other that they should wash the shirts and dry them in the sun. This was done accordingly, but during the latter process the heat of the sun made it impossible for the two officers to remain on the edge of the lake, so they got back into the water. The sun's rays darting on their bare heads, they put on their cocked hats and sat thus attired in the water, whilst the garments became fit for use.

* It is strange that among the officers of Sir John Moore's army, were no less than three who became Commanders-in-chief in India. Sir Edward Paget filled this high post at the time of the first Burmese War in 1824; Colonel (afterwards Sir Jasper) Nicolls, of the 14th Regiment, during the Afghan War; and Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Napier, of the 59th, who became Commander-in-chief in 1845. Lord Gough in 1849, having already commanded the Bombay Army. Another officer, Sir Henry Fane, who was Commander-in-chief in 1838, led a division of Sir Arthur Wellesley's army at Rorica and Vimiero; and a fifth, Colonel (afterwards Sir William) Gomm, of the Coldstream Guards, served throughout the Peninsular War on the Quartermaster-General's Staff.



Whilst thus seated, they felt a strange tingling sensation, and speedily discovered that they were attacked by the large horse-leeches which swarm in pools in some parts of Spain and Portugal, and had some difficulty in ridding themselves of them.

On the arrival of the army at Corunna, it was found that contrary winds had delayed the fleet when sailing from Vigo, and Sir John Moore, whom ill-fortune had pursued throughout the entire period of his command, only bringing into stronger prominence his noble fortitude and unshaken self-confidence, was compelled to quarter his army in the town and suburbs, with the exception of the reserve, which was posted with its left at the village of St. Burgo, and its right on the road to St. Jago de Compostella. He also proceeded to repair and strengthen the land-front of the fortifications, shot most of his horses to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and destroyed the magazines of powder, one containing 4,000 barrels, which, with other stores, had been accumulated at Corunna for the use of the Spanish patriots. The French army was not completely assembled on the Mero until the 12th, and crossed that river on the 14th, the day when the transports arrived from Vigo. During the night the dismounted cavalry, the sick, and fifty-two guns were embarked, twelve only being retained for action. Some desultory fighting took place on the 15th, and the enemy, who by the arrival of Laborde's division, were not less than 20,000 men, established a strong battery of eleven guns within 1,200 yards of the English right. The unfavourable nature of the ground and the difficulties of embarkation appeared so great that some generals proposed to the Commander-in-chief to open negotiations with Marshal Soult for leave to retire unmolested to their ships, but Sir John Moore would not listen to the degrading proposal, and all the *impedimenta* of the army being shipped during the night of the 15th, every preparation was made for the embarkation on the following morning of the infantry, numbering 14,500 men.

In the line of battle, the 3rd, or General McKenzie Fraser's division,* with which was the 38th Regiment, remained on the heights immediately before the gates of Corunna, prepared to advance to any point to check the cavalry and watch the coast-road. Sir David Baird's division was on the right, and from the oblique direction of the ridge on which it was posted

* The other regiments of the 3rd Division were the 3rd, 6th, 9th, 23rd, 43rd, and 79th Regiments.

the left and centre were raked by the eleven-gun battery, the right approaching close to the enemy. General Hope's division prolonged the line of Baird's left to the Mero; and the reserve, under General Paget, was in rear of the centre, and kept in check the enemy's cavalry.

Soult advanced in three columns on Baird's position, and, carrying the village of Elvina, assisted by the overwhelming fire of his guns, outflanked Baird's right, upon which the reserve moved up to his assistance, with General Fraser's division in support. The French were driven back, the 42nd and 50th Regiments particularly distinguishing themselves—the latter under the command of the illustrious soldier, afterwards known to fame as Sir Charles Napier, who was wounded in five places, and would have been killed but for the humanity of a French drummer, who rescued him from his assailants and placed him against a wall.* At this time the struggle raged furiously round the village of Elvina, on the hills, in the valley, and along the whole British line. Sir David Baird was severely wounded, and, at length, the noble soldier who commanded-in-chief received his mortal wound while directing the movements of Baird's division at the village of Elvina, in the fore-front of the battle. Napier describes the event as follows:—"Sir John Moore was struck on the left breast by a cannon-shot; the shock threw him from his horse with violence; he rose again in a sitting posture, his countenance unchanged and his steadfast eye still fixed upon the regiments engaged in his front; no sign betrayed a sensation of pain; but in a few moments, when he was satisfied that the troops were gaining ground, his countenance brightened, and he suffered himself to be taken to the rear. Here was seen the dreadful nature of his hurt; the shoulder was shattered to pieces, the arm was hanging by a piece of skin, the ribs over the heart broken and bared of flesh, and the muscles of the breast torn into long strips, which were interlaced by their recoil from the dragging of the shot. As the soldiers placed him in a blanket, his sword got entangled, and the hilt entered the wound; Captain Hardinge, a staff-officer, who was near, attempted to take it off, but the dying man stopped him, saying, 'It is as well as it is; I had rather it should go out of the field with me,' and in that manner, so becoming to a soldier, Moore was borne from the fight."

But the battle was already won. Elvina was retaken, the

* Sir Charles Napier never forgot this generous act, and when the question of his supporters came up for consideration, said that he would like a French drummer for one of them.

enemy's left had been turned, and their line driven back at every point, so that when night came, our troops occupied a position in advance of that held in the morning. Sir John Hope, who had now assumed the command, embarked the troops during the night, with the exception of the brigades of Generals Hill and Beresford, which remained in the citadel and embarked on the 17th and 18th, respectively. The British loss was 800, and that of the French probably little less than 3,000. The army had gained a great and glorious victory, but, like the battles of Trafalgar and Alexandria and the capture of Quebec, it was dimmed by the loss of the hero who had planned and executed it. On being borne from the field, Moore's countenance expressed his unfaltering resolution, and, though suffering great torture, he caused his attendants to stop and turn round several times that he might survey the progress of the fight. While in the agony of dissolution he exclaimed to a friend, "You know that I always wished to die this way;" and added, "it is a great satisfaction to me to know we have beaten the French." With his latest breath he said, "I hope the people of England will be satisfied; I hope they will do me justice." And his country, proud of the deeds and patriotism of one whose name will go down to posterity enshrined in never-dying verse, have, notwithstanding the calumnies of contemporary detractors, long since done justice to the victor of Corunna, whose heroic death has placed him on the same pedestal as Nelson, Wolfe, and Abercromby. His body was laid to rest in his military cloak, in the citadel of Corunna, and Soult raised a monument to his memory; but a more enduring testimony to his virtue and grandeur of character is to be found in the pages of the historian of the Peninsular War. We know of no more eloquent and noble panegyric than that concluding with the words—"If glory be a distinction for such a man, death is no leveller."

The fleet of transports, convoyed by ships of war, sailed for England, but being overtaken by a terrible storm, was scattered; many ships were wrecked, and the remainder driving up channel, landed the soldiers* at any port along the coast from Plymouth to Dover, so that thousands of men, in a state of wretchedness, were thrown upon the shores of the country and horrified the people by their ragged squalor and dirt. The

* There was still a small force left in the Peninsula under Sir John Craddock, which, including a brigade under General Cameron, and stragglers of Sir John Moore's army, numbered 7,000 men, which was strengthened in the following April to 13,000, by the arrival of the brigades under Generals Sherbrooke and Hill.

officers were no exception to this rule; but though in rags and destitution, Captain Willshire, doubtless, felt with Wordsworth, who thus apostrophised his native land on landing at Dover a few years before, and any one who has been exiled for years from England will echo the sentiment:—

“The cock that crows, the smoke that curls, that sound
Of bells—those boys who in yon meadow-ground
In white-sleeved shirts are playing—and the roar
Of the waves breaking on the chalky shore—
All, all are English.
 ’Tis joy enough and pride
For one hour’s perfect bliss, to tread the grass
Of England once again.”

On landing at Portsmouth, Willshire was absolutely without a shirt on his back, the only one he possessed having dropped off during the voyage. A long mantle, lined with tiger-skin, covered the scanty under-clothing with which he had faced the rigours of a severe winter; his body was emaciated with exposure and insufficient nourishment, and a long, unkempt beard so completely disguised the handsome shapely young officer, that his friends did not recognise him, and as he walked up the High Street in this singular costume, he heard a woman exclaim to her squalling brat, “There, if you are not quiet directly, I will throw you to that tiger-man, and he will eat you up.” The incident awoke him to the consciousness of the deplorable condition of his toilet, and Captain Willshire beat a hasty retreat into the first ready-made clothing warehouse, arrayed himself in the habiliments of civilised life, and, at night took his bundle of ragged garments to the end of the jetty and threw them into the water. After similar experiences, one is not surprised that Sir Charles Napier always considered that a spare shirt, a towel, and a piece of soap were sufficient for an officer on a campaign. Captain Willshire’s transformation was soon completed, and we find that he attended a fancy-ball in Portsmouth, attired in the costume of a Spanish muleteer, which set off his handsome face and stately person. The silver buttons that ornamented his blue velvet jacket on that occasion are still preserved in his family. One who knew him describes his appearance at this time:—“His hair was thick, dark as the raven’s wing, and curling all over his head; his large bushy whiskers met under his chin and also curled handsomely. His features were regular, but expressive of high courage and endurance, and his eye was so commanding, that

it has been fitly compared to that of the eagle." Those were troublous times, and Captain Willshire was soon called to effect other conquests than those over the hearts of his fair countrywomen.

The British Government, continuing the policy of frittering away its forces in useless expeditions, undertook the unfortunate Walcheren campaign, instead of putting forth its whole strength in the Peninsula, whither Sir Arthur Wellesley had sailed on the 16th of April from Portsmouth, where he was destined to land five years later as the Duke of Wellington. On the 27th of July, 1809, an expedition, under the command of Lord Chatham and Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, consisting of thirty-five ships of the line, five frigates, and a fleet of 197 smaller vessels, in which was embarked an army of 39,219 men, including the 38th Regiment, 750 bayonets, sailed from the Downs with the object of destroying the enemy's ships and arsenals in the Scheldt and at Antwerp and Flushing, as well as to reduce Walcheren, an island some thirty-four miles in circumference. Such a vast armament had never quitted the shores of Britain, and the most exaggerated expectations were formed of the results it would achieve, though they were doomed to disappointment, and all these preparations were rendered abortive by the incompetence of the commanders, especially Lord Chatham, the bearer of a mighty name. The troops disembarked at Walcheren and South Beveland; among those landed at the latter island being the 38th, which was brigaded with the 9th and 42nd, under Major-General Montresor. Flushing was invested, and, after two days' cannonading by the fleet and batteries, mounting 58 guns, surrendered on the 15th, with its garrison of 6,000 men, our military arrangements being conspicuous for want of order and method. No further operations were undertaken, procrastination and indolence being supreme in the councils of the military and naval chiefs. As the song well put it:—

" Lord Chatham, with his sword drawn,
Waited for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Waited for the Earl of Chatham."

Great sickness, known as the Walcheren fever, broke out among the troops, of whom no less than 12,086 were in hospital or sick on board ship, and 498 died in a fortnight. All idea of pushing up the Scheldt and destroying the French

arsenal and dockyards at Terneuse and Antwerp, being abandoned, Lord Chatham returned to England with the greater portion of his army on the 14th of September; and, finally, on the 23rd of December, the remainder of the troops, including the 38th Regiment, sailed for England. Thus ended this ill-conceived and ill-executed expedition to Walcheren, a place of ill omen, which had already proved fatal to the reputation of another British commander, the Duke of York, in 1799, and which now cost the country twenty millions sterling and, what was more to be deplored, many thousands of valuable lives. Instead of sending this fine army of 40,000 men to reinforce the division of 13,000 soldiers under Sir Arthur Wellesley, or to the head of the Adriatic to assist our allies, the Austrians—a diversion which might have had as favourable a result as when Marlborough, during the War of the Spanish Succession, defeated the French on the Danube—the Ministry, influenced by Lord Castlereagh, who took a special interest in this expedition and witnessed its departure from the Downs, decided upon wasting the resources of the country upon a pestilential island, and bringing defeat and ridicule upon her arms by the appointment of an incompetent and inexperienced general.

Among those who died at Walcheren was Captain John Willshire, who was nursed throughout his illness by the assiduous care and affection of his son Thomas, who followed his body to the grave. Certainly hitherto the experiences of war of our hero had not been of a character to invest the "sport of Kings" with the halo of glory and romance which commonly attaches to it. Rather must the profession of arms have seemed to the youthful aspirant for military distinction one in which defeat and disgrace, as at Buenos Ayres, alternated with retreat and hardships as in Spain, or fever and inaction as at Walcheren, varied by the brief gleam of victory in Portugal. But from henceforth all this was to be changed, and, returning to the banner of the greatest soldier England has produced, he was, with him, to participate in the career of unchequered victory that raised the military renown of this country to a pitch it had not attained since Marlborough was the leading spirit of the coalition against France.

In June, 1812, the 38th Regiment, 1,100 strong, under the command of Colonel (afterwards Sir) Charles Greville, brother of the Earl of Warwick, embarked from Cork for the Peninsula, Captain Willshire being still in command of the light company. Ensign G. Freer, who embarked with the detachment under command of Captain Willshire, writes of him at this time:—

"The Regiment* was most complete, and both as to officers and men, an admirable example of a British force. The unity and kindly feeling of the officers with each other, the firm yet conciliatory bearing of Colonel Greville, the exact discipline and fine bearing of the men, made a specimen of compact military organisation not often seen. I was myself no way distinguished among them for stature, although I stood six feet high, and I conceive Captain Willshire about the same, the company to which I was attached, the Grenadiers, having no man under that height. I had been detached to bring up recruits from various parts of England, and such as had found their way to the ports in Ireland. I marched them in safely, and on delivering them up, was complimented by Captain Willshire. I had to bring them through many parts of the country where it was indeed difficult to prevent every species of disorder, and the constant temptation to desertion when plied with liquor by the hospitable Irish. I afterwards became more intimate with Captain Willshire, from the circumstance that I was especially committed by Lord Warwick to the care of his brother, Colonel Greville, who was always devotedly attached to Captain Willshire; indeed so much so, that although then far inferior in rank to Colonel Greville, he seemed as though he could do nothing without him. Being in the same ship with Captain Willshire, I had much opportunity of seeing his character during a long and dangerous voyage in one of those vessels in which troops were conveyed, or, to use a not inappropriate term, 'transported,' between 200 and 300 men in vessels of 300 to 400 tons burthen."

This officer writes of the voyage to Lisbon and march to Salamanca, during which he was the constant companion of Captain Willshire:—"After a tolerably fair passage, as a sailor would call it, but to me a most foul and disagreeable one, we arrived in Lisbon. Our baggage, if baggage it could be called, was conveyed by mules to Villa Franca, while we proceeded by water. This baggage was so slender, that in one case a donkey conveyed the whole of that belonging to a captain and two subalterns; my own ignorance in this respect was the cause of many of the hardships I suffered afterwards. We arrived at Villa Franca about nine at night, after a long day's march. Here the great object of attraction was the military line of defence lately erected by the Duke of Wellington, most admirably

* The 2nd Battalion of the 38th Regiment was already in Portugal, and was brigaded with the 9th and 3rd Battalion of the 1st Royals, at the battle of Busaco, on the 27th September, 1810, under Major-General Leith, and at the siege of Badajoz. On its place in the first brigade of the 5th Division being taken by the 1st Battalion, it returned to England in 1813, and was quartered at Winchester.

constructed as well as designed, displaying as much the abilities of the engineer who planned as the general who caused them to be executed. Leaving this place, we marched at daybreak through the small villages on the main road to Santarem, a place containing many convents and monasteries, but neither striking for its beauty nor opulence. The villages on the road were mostly devastated, showing too plainly the horrors of war, and the merciless ravages of the French on their retreat from the lines of Villa Franca. My regiment being very strong in point of numbers, we were not able to remain in the villages, but encamped under the canopy of heaven. Here I recollect the impression made on me by beholding a large body of wounded coming to the rear, some with an ear and part of the face shot off, some blinded, some armless, others without legs, all in a miserable plight; not a pleasing sight to men going up to supply their places. The night dews were so heavy that they appeared like falling rain, and I, being as I have said, ill-provided with proper baggage, often found my limbs and body so stiff as scarcely to be able to rise at the sound of the bugle, which to enable us to march as far as possible in the cool of the morning, was usually about one or two o'clock a.m. Between this point and Ciudad Rodrigo, some of my men fell dead from sun-stroke, so fearful was the heat. We had expected to halt here a few days, but received orders to proceed after twelve hours' rest. Leaving Rodrigo you have a burning, sandy road, through an extensive plain, where the sun has not left a sign of vegetation, except wheat, which here appears as though it were the spontaneous fruit of nature, for the whole day you see neither man nor his dwelling. We had now bid adieu to sleeping under the 'friendly roof,' and marched under the burning sun by day, bivouacking at night, our clothes saturated with the heavy dews.

"Approaching Salamanca you see at the distance of full three leagues its numerous towers and spires rising as it were out of an almost boundless plain, without any part of the city being visible; indeed so great is the deception, that you would imagine you are close to it, when after marching through dust and heat many hours, you will still be told that you are a league distant from Salamanca. The entrance to the 'learned city' is over a rather handsome bridge of six arches; the river Tormes, which has in this part a very romantic and beautiful appearance, meandering gently through green fields, vineyards, and gardens. The French had fortified two convents which commanded the bridge and ford of the Tormes. These had been taken a short time before, after a most gallant resistance on the part of the enemy, who had only

a handful of men in them; they were now battered down, together with all the houses in their vicinity which could afford any shelter, giving this approach to the city a most ruinous appearance. Passing the suburbs you enter the city through an ancient arched gateway of Gothic architecture, into streets so narrow and bad, that you wonder at so great a promise leading to so poor a performance. The Grand Plaza, however, is a most beautiful square, the houses so built as to form piazzas underneath, in which are the principal shops, the hidalgos occupying the houses above. In the rainy season this arrangement is peculiarly good, for you may in your walk enjoy the air and exercise without the drawback of being wet to the skin. In rear of this there is an open square ornamented in the centre by beautiful fountains. Salamanca had in all fifty-six colleges, halls and convents, but the French had destroyed twenty-two of the number, though there were still remaining some superb buildings, among them, the so-called Irish College, built by Philip II., and by him largely endowed for the education of Roman Catholic priests of that nation.

"When we arrived in Salamanca after a burning forced march of four leagues and a half, in the heat of the day, our men were put into the convent of San Domingo which the nuns had quitted, the officers occupying the houses near. We remained under arms till dark, when we received orders to join the main body of the army, through a soaking rain another league and a half, that night. Heaven, as though forbidding the blood that was to be shed the next day, showed its anger by the most awful thunder and vivid lightning I ever witnessed. It was about midnight when we arrived at our position; not a covering had I or my messmate, Captain Willshire, from the pitiless storm; the ground we were on had been ploughed, and in one of its furrows we laid ourselves down, a stone composing my pillow; notwithstanding that the water ran in at the collar of my coat, and out wherever it could find a passage, yet from the fatigues of the day and the buoyancy of a good constitution, I slept as though lying on down."

At this time Lord Wellington was in the full tide of his wonderful career of victory. From the day he quitted the lines at Torres Vedras, covering Lisbon—which, creditable alike to the engineers, the army, and its great leader, form perhaps the most astonishing series of artificial works known in the history of war—Lord Wellington marched, with only one check at Burgos, through the Iberian Peninsula until he entered France in co-operation with the allied generals. In May, 1812, the French

armies in Portugal and Spain, nominally under King Joseph Buonaparte, who had as his lieutenants, Marmont, Suchet, Caffarelli, and Soult, the most able,* numbered nearly 300,000 men, above 240,000 of whom were with the eagles. Lord Wellington, on his part, after all his losses of the past three years, mustered to his standards nearly 90,000 men, of whom 6,000 were at Cadiz; but, owing to the debilitated state of that portion which had served at Walcheren, he could take the field with little more than 32,000 British soldiers and 24,000 Portuguese. Under his immediate command † Wellington had 36,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, and 54 guns, exclusive of a Spanish brigade of 3,500 men.

On the 13th of June, 1812, Lord Wellington commenced the campaign by crossing the Agueda in four columns, and, on the 17th, commenced the siege of the forts of Salamanca, which surrendered on the 27th, together with 700 prisoners and 30 guns, the loss of the Allies during the operations being nearly 500 men. It was at this time that the 38th Regiment arrived to strengthen the army, which was soon to be engaged in a life and death struggle with Marshal Marmont at Salamanca. The regiment landed at Lisbon on the 15th of June, 1812, and was brigaded with the 3rd Battalion of the 1st (Royal Scots), and 1st Battalion 9th Regiment, under Lieutenant-General Leith, forming one of the two brigades of the 5th Division, and the 38th continued to serve throughout the remainder of the war with these two very distinguished regiments. On the 19th of July the brigade joined Lord Wellington before Salamanca, three days after Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, had crossed the Douro at Toro, and making a forced march of eighty miles in forty-eight hours, crossed the river Guarena, and surprised the right wing of the Allies, pushing it back ten miles. After some manœuvring, in which, says Napier, "the Marshal out-flanked and outmarched the Allies," both armies crossed the Tormes on the 21st of July, and Wellington, learning that Marmont would be reinforced on the following day with 2,000 cavalry and twenty guns, and "feeling that he must now perforce retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo," determined to retire unless the enemy attacked him.† However, at daylight on the 22nd

* General Hill was operating in the South, opposed to Soult, with 15,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and twenty-four guns, assisted by four Portuguese regiments and a Spanish corps, and supported by the garrison of Gibraltar.

† On the 15th of June, shortly before his great victory, Wellington writes:—"I have never been in such distress as at present, and some serious misfortune must happen if the Government do not attend seriously to the subject and supply us regularly with money. The arrears and distresses of the Portuguese Government

of July, the Duke of Ragusa brought up two divisions, and took possession of the ridge of Calvariza de Oriba, with a wooded height in advance of it; he also occupied one of two steep and rugged hills, called the Two Arapiles, commanding the English right, the second being seized by Wellington just in time to prevent it also falling into the enemy's hands. Marmont extended his left, endangering Wellington's right, whereupon the English general moved down into the low ground, and gathered the 5th and 6th Divisions into one mass upon the internal slope of the English Arapiles, where, from the hollow nature of the ground, they were quite hidden from the enemy. During these movements, says Napier, "a sharp cannonade was exchanged from the top of these frowning hills, on whose crowning rocks the two generals sat like ravenous vultures watching for their quarry."

Marmont had not yet developed his movements when Wellington moved up his first and light divisions, and, bringing the 3rd Division and D'Urban's cavalry over the river, reversed his position, so that his rear became his front, and the left rested on the English Arapiles, and the right on the Aldea Tejada. The English general had the numerical advantage, the French army numbering 42,000 men, with 74 guns, and that of the Allies 46,000, and 60 cannon; but, on the other hand, a large portion of Lord Wellington's army was composed of Spanish and Portuguese troops; and though the latter, all through the war, proved themselves not unworthy to fight in line with British soldiers, the Spanish troops were unreliable, and Wellington's opinion of a Spanish soldier was not more complimentary than that recorded of the Spanish sailor by Nelson and Cochrane.

About twelve o'clock, Marmont brought up two divisions to support the French Arapiles, and, fearing that Wellington intended to retreat, incautiously ordered a division, with fifty guns, to menace the Ciudad Rodrigo road, thus separating his left wing from his centre. In an instant the eagle-eyed Wellington detected the full import of the strategical mistake committed by his antagonist, and launched his divisions upon the enemy from the interior slope of the English Arapiles. The 5th Division instantly formed on the right of the 4th, connecting the latter with Bradford's division of Portuguese, from the right; while the heavy cavalry closed up, forming the

are a joke to ours, and if our credit was not better than theirs, we should certainly starve. As it is, if we don't find means to pay our bills for butchers' meat, there will be an end to the war at once."

extreme right of the front line of battle; the 6th and 7th Divisions, flanked by the light cavalry, being in the second line, and the 1st and light Divisions, with Pack's Portuguese, forming the reserve. The movements were executed with perfect precision, and, too late, Marmont found the fatal mistake he had committed in, rashly advancing his left, thus separating his troops into three parts, each at too great a distance to support the other. The 3rd Division, led by Pakenham, under a storm of bullets, cut across the line of march of the French left, whose general was killed, and Marmont, galloping to rally his broken troops, was himself severely wounded by a shell, when the command devolved upon Clauzel. The 5th Division now attacked the French column in front, and, as they reeled under the shock, Le Marchant's division of heavy cavalry thundered down upon them in the interval between the attacks and rode through and over the panic-stricken ranks like a whirlwind, itself suffering severely from the fire of a fresh column, forming the third line, which emptied many saddles, including that of Le Marchant. While the 3rd and 5th Divisions, assisted by the heavy cavalry, had broken the French left and captured 2,000 prisoners, the battle raged fiercely in the centre, where the brunt of the fighting was borne by the 4th Division. At this time General Leith was wounded, when the command of Willshire's brigade devolved on Colonel Greville, of the 38th.

Clauzel did all he could to retrieve the field by bringing up his other columns and vigorously attacking the 4th and 5th Divisions, and for a time, fortune seemed to smile on his efforts, Pack's Portuguese being worsted in a gallant attempt to carry the French Arapiles, and Generals Beresford and Cole being severely wounded; but Wellington, at the crisis of the battle, bringing up his 6th Division, completed the discomfiture of the enemy. The fight was continued into the night, the French divisions, under Foy and Maucune, showing a bold front as they protected the retreat across the Tormes.

Captain Willshire commanded the light company of his regiment throughout the day, and was twice wounded,* but refused to quit the field. The loss of the 38th Regiment at Salamanca, as appears from MS. records, was as follows:—
"Killed: Captain Taylor, Lieutenant Bromfield, and fourteen men. Wounded: Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, Captains Willshire, Gullie, and Fullarton; Lieutenants Ince, Peddie and Laws;

* The Patriotic Fund awarded him, unsolicited, 100*l.* for his wounds.

Ensigns Magee, Wilcocks, Byam, and Freer; 114 rank and file.

Ensign Freer, the officer already quoted, who was by Willshire's side throughout the great battle of the 22nd of July, and, like him, was wounded, gives the following account of the part taken in the engagement by the 38th Regiment:—"At daybreak we took up a position along the heights to our right. After manœuvring opposite each other the whole morning, Marmont detached 20,000 men from the left wing of his army, with the intention of cutting off our communication with the main road to Ciudad Rodrigo; the cavalry of this detachment had gained the Tormes and were beginning to ford it, when the whole detached body were attacked by the 3rd and 7th Division of British, while our division (the 5th) and 6th advanced along the heights at double quick, or rather a hard run, for about two miles. Their centre was now posted on an eminence in our front, a position much superior to ours, and which seemed inaccessible; under this height we lay flat on our faces for a quarter of an hour to get our breath after so rapid a movement in the heat of the day, the poor fellows carrying packs, coats and blankets, besides thirty rounds of ammunition, on their backs. We were now so close to the main body of the French that the shot and shell which they poured upon us in abundance from the heights above could do us little damage. We were shortly ordered to stand up, and General Leith, who then commanded us, made a flying speech to each regiment as he passed. To us he said: 'As for you 38th, I have only to say, behave as you always have done.' We then firmly advanced at quick time without firing a shot, having previously loaded under the fire of several howitzers, field-pieces, and mortars, together with the fire of all their musketry. I do believe that never was the coolness, the intrepidity and the bravery, together with the discipline of the British soldier, so evidently portrayed as on this occasion.* We marched on and on with 'recovered arms' and fixed bayonets as on a common field-day, till we arrived within about 100 yards from them, and about three parts up the eminence, when, 'Halt! fire a volley, and charge!' were the orders given. This was done in the finest conceivable manner. The enemy fell in immense numbers, and our brave fellows, running up the rock as though it had been level ground, cheering the whole way, immediately pressed upon them with the bayonet. They

* The gallant officer appended the following note to this observation:—"Since writing the above I have seen the British soldier engaged on fifteen occasions, but am still of the same opinion."

stood for a moment, as though prepared to defend themselves; but the shock was too great; our bayonets crossed theirs, but our rush was too impetuous to be resisted, we put them into confusion, they began to fly, and we as quickly to pursue. Personal strength and valour had now an opportunity of displaying themselves, for in this *mêlée* it was the only thing to which you had to trust. To describe to any one unaccustomed to scenes of this nature the one that now presented itself, would be impossible. Here was the athletic powerful Willshire pursuing nimble Frenchmen; there a solitary too bold French dragoon rushing back upon the infantry which pressed him, and horse and rider tumbling headlong from one of our shots. Heaps of dead and dying on all sides covered the ground, the enemy's screams mingled with our triumphant shouts; the cries of the wounded, the prayers of the prisoners for mercy, the roar of cannon, the volleys of musketry, all combined, forming a most horrid medley. Several times the enemy strove to re-form, but in vain. Their right about this time was turned, and flight became general, when nothing remained for us to do but to cut down and destroy every obstacle. It fell to my lot to take three or four field-pieces which had annoyed us much. This scene of slaughter and bloodshed continued till eleven at night, when, unable to distinguish friends from foes, we were compelled to desist.

"At night, Captain Willshire and myself sat round the watch-fire recounting the deeds of the day. Some of my company procured raw meal and some bacon, with which a kind of dumpling was improvised; the fire was made of gun-carriage timber and broken muskets, there being no wood in the vicinity. Some were making dough cakes, putting all the pillage from Frenchmen's packs into our camp-kettles. They invited us most respectfully to partake of their meal, and with Willshire seated on one pack, and I on another, we enjoyed it as much as the most professed epicure would a venison feast. At length, weary with the exertions of the day, I withdrew some yards, and laying my head on a stone, fell asleep, notwithstanding the pain of my arm and the dampness of the ground. At break of day we commenced our pursuit of the routed enemy, but were unable again to come up with them, as they had marched the whole night and passed the river Tormes at Alba de Tormes two hours after daybreak. In our line of march, the whole road, and on each side of it, was covered with dead bodies. The enemy, in passing Alba de

Tormes, had set fire to two large convents, which were flaming away as we passed through the town."

Lord Wellington continued the pursuit of the enemy on the 23rd of July, with his left wing and cavalry, and, on the 24th, Bock's German dragoons captured a French regiment, losing 100 men in the charge. Clauzel retreated upon Burgos, and Lord Wellington entered Valladolid, where he captured seventeen guns, and, while he sent his left wing in pursuit of the enemy up the valleys of the Arlónza, on the 14th of August entered Madrid, amid the enthusiasm of the entire populace, King Joseph having quitted the city on his retreat to Valencia. Between the 18th and 30th of July, when the French re-crossed the Douro, Marmont had lost seven generals, and 12,500 officers and men killed, wounded, and prisoners; the loss of the Allies being four generals and nearly 6,000 men.

Willshire's regiment formed part of the 5th Division, now under the command of Major-General Pringle, the Brigadiers being General Barnes and Colonel Greville. The Division entered Madrid on the 13th of August, and quitted the capital with the 1st and 7th Divisions, and some Portuguese and Spanish troops, for Arevalo, to which Lord Wellington proceeded on the 1st of September, to take command of this portion of the army, now reduced by sickness to 23,000 men. On the 7th he entered Valladolid, which Clauzel had abandoned on the preceding day, and, continuing his pursuit of that general, arrived on the 16th at Burgos, with 33,000 men, of whom 11,000 were Spanish, and a portion of the remainder Portuguese, and 42 guns and howitzers.

Then followed the unsuccessful siege of the castle of Burgos, which was defended by 1,800 infantry, besides artillerymen, under the command of General Dubreton, who displayed both courage and skill of a high order. No less than five assaults were delivered during the thirty-three days' investment, with a loss to the besiegers of more than 2,000 men, but, at length, Wellington, finding himself confronted by Generals Souham, Clauzel, Maucune, and Foy, with 44,000 men and 60 guns, and King Joseph operating with 70,000 men towards the Tagus, felt compelled, with bitterness of spirit, to raise the siege, and, on the 21st of October, commenced his retreat, in order to form a junction with General Hill's corps. During this unfortunate siege, the 38th Regiment formed part of the covering force, and in the retreat, joined the retreating army at Torquemada.

The French general, Souham, followed vigorously in pursuit of the British columns, and a cavalry action took place, on the

23rd of October, at Venta de Pozo, where our troopers were over-matched and suffered severely. On the following day, Wellington—closely followed by the enemy, who cannonaded his rear-guard at Torquemada, where the army made free with the wine-vaults, no less than “12,000 men being, it is said, in a state of insubriety at one time,”—crossed the Carrion river. Here he was joined by a regiment of Guards and other reinforcements from Corunna. On the 25th took place an action on the Carrion, in which Captain Willshire commanded the light companies of his brigade, which, with the rest of the 5th Division, defended the village and bridge of Muriel. Major-General Pringle, temporarily in command of the 5th Division, was relieved, on the morning of the action, by Major-General Oswald, so that it did not fall to the latter to make the dispositions, as is stated by Napier, in his *History of the Peninsular War*, to the prejudice of General Oswald. According to the historian, General Oswald not having occupied the position in sufficient force, General Maucune's column passed the river at a ford, (the bridges having been blown up) and lined the dry bed of a canal which his English opponent had neglected to occupy. Wellington coming up, and finding his retreat endangered, ordered the brigades of the 5th Division, under Generals Barnes and Pringle, to attack the main body and clear the canal, which they did in gallant style, supported by the Spaniards and Portuguese, though much loss was experienced by the cannonado from the opposite side of the Carrion.

General Oswald, however, wrote in the *United Service Magazine* of August, 1837, a letter, in which he gave the following account of the action of Villa Muriel so far as his division was concerned :—

“Major-General Pringle had already posted the troops, and the greater portion of the division were admirably disposed of about the village, as also in the dry bed of a canal running in its rear, in some places parallel to the Carrion. Certain of the corps were formed in column of attack, supported by reserves, ready to fall upon the enemy, if, in consequence of the mine failing, he should venture to push a column along the narrow bridge. The river had at some points been reported fordable, but these were said to be at all times difficult, and in the then rise of water, hardly practicable. As the enemy closed towards the bridge, he opened a heavy fire of artillery on the village; at that moment Lord Wellington entered it and passed the formed columns, well sheltered both from fire and observation. His lordship approved of the manner the post was occupied,

and of the advantage taken of the canal and village to mask the troops. The French, supported by a heavy and superior fire, rushed gallantly on the bridge, the mine not exploding and destroying the arch till the leading section had almost reached the spot. Shortly after, the main body retired, having apparently only a few light troops. Immediately previous to this, an orderly officer announced to Lord Wellington that Palencia and its bridges were gained by the foe. He ordered the main body of the division immediately to ascend the heights in its rear and along the plateau, to move towards Palencia, in order to meet an attack from that quarter. Whilst the division was in the act of ascending, a report was made by Major Hill, of the 8th Caçadores, that the ford had been won, passed by a body of cavalry, causing the Caçadores to fall back on the broken ground. The enemy, it appears, was from the first acquainted with these fords, for his push to them was almost simultaneous with his assault on the bridge. The division moved on the heights towards Palencia. It had not, however, proceeded far, before an order came directing it to retire and form on the right of the Spaniards, and when collected, to remain on the heights till further orders. About this time the cavalry repassed the river, nor had either infantry or artillery passed by the ford to aid in the attack; but in consequence of the troops being withdrawn from the village and canal, a partial repair was given to the bridge, and small bodies of infantry were passed over, skirmishing with the Spaniards, whose post on the heights was directly in front of Villa Muriel. No serious attack from that quarter was to be apprehended until an advance from Palencia. It was on that point, therefore, that attention was fixed. Day was closing when Lord Wellington came upon the heights, said all was quiet at Palencia, and that the enemy must now be driven from the right bank. General Oswald inquired if, after clearing the village, the division was to remain there for the night; his lordship replied that the village was to be occupied in force and held by the division till it was withdrawn, which would probably be very early in the morning. He directed the first brigade, under Brigadier-General Barnes, to attack the enemy's flank; the second, under Pringle, to advance in support, extending to the left, so as to succour the Spaniards, who were unsuccessfully contending with the enemy in their front. The casualties in the division were not numerous, especially when the fire it was exposed to is considered. The enemy sustained a comparatively heavy loss. The troops were, by a rapid advance of the first brigade, cut off from the

bridge and forced into the river, where many were drowned. The Allies fell back in the morning unmolested."

Fighting also took place, with varying success, on the 25th of October, at the bridges of San Isidro and Banco, on the Pisuerga; but, at daybreak on the following morning, Wellington continued his retreat, making a march of sixteen miles to Cabezon, where he passed to the left of the Pisuerga and halted, after sending a detachment to hold the bridge of Tudela, thus securing his retreat over the Douro, while he sent orders to Hill, who was confronted by Soult's army of 46,000 men, with 72 guns, to relinquish the defence of the Tagus and retreat, which he did by the Guadarama Passes. On the 28th, Souham, extending his right, endeavoured to force the bridges of Valladolid and Simancas, on the Pisuerga; and Wellington, having destroyed the bridges at Valladolid and Cabezon, crossed the Douro and marched by his left to the heights between Bucda and Tordesillas. But his position here soon became untenable, owing to Soult's movements and the fact that King Joseph, who had entered Madrid on the 3rd of November, had now under his orders a combined army of 100,000 men, with 130 guns. On the 6th of November he fell back to a strong position covering Salamanca, with his right at Alba, separated by the Tormes from the centre at San Christoval, where he intended, after the retreat of 200 miles from Burgos, to rest his troops, increased by the addition of Hill's corps to 68,000 men, including the Spanish and Portuguese Auxiliaries, with nearly 70 guns.

With such generals as Soult, Jourdan, and Clauzel, in his front, with nearly 90,000 men, including 12,000 cavalry, and 120 guns, Wellington was not long suffered to remain at peace, and concentrated his army on the Arapiles, near Salamanca, where he won his great victory on the 22nd of July, hoping the French would give him battle; but Soult's more wary tactics pointed to cutting off his great antagonist's retreat by the Ciudad Rodrigo road, so Lord Wellington abandoned his position, and, on the 15th of November, carrying the whole army in three columns round the enemy's left, gained the Valmusa river in their rear. On the following day the British troops continued the retreat on Ciudad Rodrigo, losing no less than 2,000 stragglers the first day, and displaying great insubordination by quitting their ranks in hundreds to shoot swine, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their officers, and the example made of two of their number who were shot by order of Lord Wellington. There was much heavy fighting when crossing the

Huebra, during the retreat, and the army suffered greatly, owing to the wretched weather and mismanagement in the Commissariat and Transport Departments; the troops straggled by thousands, some general officers setting the example of insubordination by leading their divisions by a road other than that ordered by Wellington; and it was fortunate that the distance to the Agueda river, and the sheltering villages of Ciudad Rodrigo, where the army went into winter quarters, was so short, for, says the historian of the war, "the temper of the army generally prognosticated the greatest misfortunes if the retreat should be continued."*

According to the muster-rolls the loss during the retreat from Burgos of the British and Portuguese divisions—that of the Spanish was never determined—between the 21st and 29th of October, was 1,000 killed, wounded, and missing, and General Hill's loss between the Tagus and Tormes was 400. Between the Tormes and Agueda the loss was much greater, for nearly 300 were killed at the Huebra, and besides stragglers who died in the woods, Marshal Jourdan asserted that 3,500 soldiers of the allied army were brought into Salamanca, so that Napier's estimate of a total loss of 9,000, including those who were killed and wounded at the siege of Burgos, is probably not excessive. During the retreat the loss of the 38th Regiment was very small, being Captain Todd and three men killed; two officers and nineteen men wounded; and Captain Evans missing. On the establishment of the army in winter quarters on the 30th of November, the real effects of the retreat began to be felt. The soldiers while in action, or in a state of activity, kept their health, but now that the excitement of the hard service was over, its ill-effects became apparent. The 38th, in company with other regiments of the division, found winter quarters in several villages near Lamego, on the Douro. Ensign Freer writes as follows of the events of the retreat, and as Captain Willshire figures in the account, the following extracts will be of interest:—"At Valladolid, Captain Willshire and myself were quartered in the house of a priest with a family, (which, of course, he ought not to have had) a shrewd, sensible man, and having had connections in England, he had contracted more

* In the General Order issued to his troops at Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington declared "that discipline had deteriorated during the campaign in a greater degree than he had ever witnessed or ever read of in any army, and this without disaster, any unusual privation or hardship, save that of inclement weather;" and, in conclusion, he asserted "that the true cause of this unhappy state of affairs was to be found in the habitual neglect of duty by the regimental officers." Surely this was a very harsh judgment on the soldiers who had stormed Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and conquered at Salamanca!

of our living and manners, his house was furnished more in our fashion than any I had seen, his chairs stuffed, and his floors carpeted; nevertheless, he had adhered to the national custom of having his stable under his sitting-room, probably in order to secure and defend the horses and mules in dangerous times, when it was needful to fly suddenly. On the following morning we marched to Cabezon, about three leagues from Valladolid: the sides of the hills flanking the river Douro are covered with vines, and on arrival at Torquemada we learned that the army had raised the siege of Burgos, and were coming down in full retreat. At one o'clock in the morning we marched, in order to come up with them in case they were engaged. The enemy were advancing rapidly on our rear, and ours being the covering division, it became necessary to halt in order to check them. Lord Wellington coming up to us at this time, blurted out, 'They are coming too forward, and must be driven back;' the general of my brigade answered, 'My Lord, I will take care of that.' The French had crossed a river, and were advancing up the hill on which we were posted; a dry canal ran parallel to the river at the foot, further than which orders were given not to drive the French, (of sixfold number) but the impetuosity of the men charging down hill could not be suppressed, and we drove them through the river up to the mouths of their guns, within fifty yards of which we had a captain (Foster) killed, being actually cut in two by a cannon-ball. In retiring through the river we suffered considerably, but gaining the dry canal, we kept the enemy from advancing for more than two hours. Whilst in this situation (occupying the dry canal) one of our officers, Major Ovens, having a paper in his pocket which contained his own promotion, took it out to view his good fortune, frequently raising his eyes over the bank to watch the course of the enemy, till a ball severed his head from his body, and I saw the paper which contained the account of his promotion, and a reward for his merits and sufferings, dyed with his blood. We now regained the hill and joined the main body of the army. The weather now became fearfully rainy, the roads filled with water, the ground a sea of mud, on which, having no baggage, every night we lay. We retraced our steps to Cabezon, where we remained two days defending its pass, with harassing night picquets. From these heights the movements of the whole French army might be seen. At night we had one pound of beef, which those in good health, meeting round the watch-fires, toasted upon ramrods, and having no other beverage, took draughts of muddy water, and laid ourselves

down to sleep, my pillow being the old and friendly stone. The weather continued intolerably bad, pouring with incessant rain.

"On the third day, two hours before daybreak, we again commenced our retreat, marching this day thirty-four miles, crossing the deepest part of the country and ~~leading~~ ^{travelling} ~~across~~ the whole day. On the next day's march, while passing through a thick wood, we were surprised to find the French on both our flanks; this compelled a double-quick through the thickest of the forest. On arriving at the camping-ground that night, I found that my baggage had been taken by the enemy, with the baggage of a few others; this circumstance was the more distressing to me, as I had only a pair of worn-out boots, and had now no means of replacing them, so that I literally marched many days with my feet bleeding on the stones. Poor Willshire suffered as much as myself, for his bât mule was also taken, and the various hardships had brought on ague and fever. During the day he had gone to bring up a detachment, which, however, had found its way by another route, and suddenly found himself in imminent danger of being made prisoner; he had no other alternative but to swim a deep river in order to join our lines,—no very pleasant cure for ague and fever, with no change of clothes at night. Such are the delights of a soldier's life. The day following we were pressed on every side by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. In crossing the fords, one or more regiments showed their front, and defended the pass, whilst the others crossed; this being done alternately, as soon as a regiment came out of the water it formed, and the one passing through retreated. The enemy at length got several pieces of cannon to annoy us at these fords. Under all this, we had marched a distance of four or five and twenty miles through woods, mire, mud, and water, till at length we halted in a wood within cannon-shot of the enemy, a narrow river being between us. The recollection of this miserable night will never be erased from my memory. We came under arms at one o'clock the next morning, but, owing to the badness of the road, and the difficulties to be surmounted in front, it was daylight before we had marched two miles; this was more tedious than ordinary marching, for we were compelled to keep on our feet, although every five minutes we could only move as many yards. The next day's march was like the preceding. It rained the whole day, and the road was covered with wrecks of all descriptions, artillery, baggage-waggons, arms, men, horses and mules; at night we halted on the side of a hill: a pound of

meat, half a pound of bread, and two ounces of rice, made us for a time forget that we had no friendly covering to save us from the chill night dews and falling rain. Willshire had a large cloak, of which he insisted on my taking part, but it may be guessed this was no luxurious covering for two tall men. On the second day after this we offered the enemy battle with our whole force, but as they did not think proper to accept, we continued our course, till we again reached the heights of St. Christoval, and saw the spires of Salamanca.

"Here we expected to make a stand and oppose the masses which had long been distressing us. We formed batteries along the heights, but they were not made use of, for in the afternoon on which they were completed we were again set in motion, and lay outside the city walls. At dusk we had a pound of bread and our ration of beef given out, but were not allowed time to cook it, as we were immediately ordered to continue our retreat, which we did all the night, till about two in the morning. I had scarcely ever smoked, nor had my messmate, Captain Willshire; but on this occasion I had purchased in Salamanca a pipe and some tobacco, for which Willshire often afterwards thanked me, declaring he thought it saved our lives by keeping off the pressure of hunger and thirst during this fearful night and till the next day, when we were halted. My friend had purchased in Salamanca two sheep skins and a blanket, on the former of which we both lay, and were covered with the same blanket, counting it a luxury which we had not enjoyed for a long time. To our sorrow, in the morning we were obliged to leave them behind us, having no means to carry them. Captain Willshire's servant had procured some cabbages, and we were expecting our rations of beef, and anticipating a decent meal, but, no rations coming, we sat on the ground, and finished every leaf of the cabbages, looking at each other wistfully when we had done.*

"We again passed Ciudad Rodrigo, leaving it on our left hand. The enemy now began to relax in their pursuit, and did not advance beyond that town, but we continued our march. My feet were become very sore and cut by the length of time I had marched without shoes, or rather without shoe-soles, and Willshire was now quite as badly off as myself, and would sometimes jokingly say—'Our Bond Street friends would cut us, but we should have excited pity in any other genus.'

* Esuign Freer adds in a foot-note:—"I have since often laughed outright at the memory of this scene. Willshire was rather a grave man, and his gravity over the cabbages has often presented itself to me."

We had not changed our linen since our baggage was lost, nor taken off our clothes for nearly a month. When we marched into a miserable village called Campillo, on the extreme border of Portugal and Spain, we found it totally destroyed by the French on their former retreat. The unfortunate inhabitants were clinging to the bare walls of their native village, some of the houses covered by the skins of animals; others with a wretched temporary thatch. The village being small and, as I have said, dilapidated, did not afford sufficient room for the whole even of our regiment, so that at first each wing remained in camp or in the houses on alternate days. When within doors, we were so much crowded that it was almost impossible to lie down. The poverty of the surrounding country was such, and our supplies at so great a distance, that we were almost starving, added to which we could not enter upon the most fertile part of the country, within sight of the hills, as the French occupied every foot of it. Fortunately, we found growing plentifully in the neighbourhood, acorns, the taste of which was something like a chestnut; these, either boiled or roasted over the fire, formed the chief part of our food at this time. Our stay here was, however, only ten days. Since this time, I have often laughed at the thought of a scene which daily presented itself—Major (afterwards Sir Edward) Miles, Captain Willshire, and myself, sitting round a wood fire, anxiously watching the toasting of these acorns on a shovel. Our duty, however, was not relaxed, although we were stationary. We were under arms every morning a quarter of an hour before daylight, and remained so half an hour, or, at times, longer; we had both inlying and outlying pickets and double guards, so we had enough to do.”*

During the winter of 1812 the French carried on a harassing warfare with the Spanish Partidas, and, as Napoleon's gigantic power received its death-blow, not at the hands of man, but in the snows and fires of Russia, no reinforcements could be sent to Joseph and his generals in the Peninsula, while Wellington received a considerable accession of troops. The relative positions of the armies were, therefore, changed, and whereas there were 216,000 Frenchmen present with the eagles, in March the army was reduced, by drafts to Germany, to 197,000 of all ranks, who were scattered over the Peninsula. Wellington, on the other hand, had now nearly 200,000 allied troops, exclusive

* Here the diary of the gallant officer abruptly comes to an end, owing to the journal he kept after this date, including the two succeeding campaigns, having fallen into the hands of the French.

of officers, ready to take the field, including his own magnificent Anglo-Portuguese force of 70,000 men, with 90 guns.

On the 22nd May, for the last time, Wellington quitted Portugal on that march rendered memorable by the great victory at Vittoria and the invasion of France. The 1st Battalion of the 38th Regiment, with the 3rd Battalion of the 1st Royal Scots, and the 1st Battalion of the 9th Regiment, formed part of the force which, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham (the late Lord Lynedoch), traversed the mountainous districts of *Tras os Montes*, and passed the river *Esla*, thus turning the enemy's line of defence on the *Douro*. On the 26th May, Wellington, with the right, and Hill, with the left, gained first the line of the *Tormes*, after a smart action, and then that of the *Douro*, on the 3rd June; and Wellington, forming a junction with Graham's corps on the *Esla*, on the preceding day, found himself at the head of 90,000 men (including 30,000 Spaniards), and over 100 guns, while opposed to him were only 45,000 men and 100 guns. On the 4th June his lordship moved in advance, and King Joseph, falling back across the *Carrion*, on the 6th quitted *Torquemada*, and retired by the high road to *Burgos*, which was abandoned. Wellington continued to press on his retreating foe, crossed the *Ebro* on the 14th June, thus cutting off the French from the sea-coast, and forcing them to abandon all the ports, except *Santona* and *Bilbao*. He now determined to cut King Joseph's communications with France, and, bringing his left wing round, descended towards the great road of *Bilbao*, and, passing like a torrent through the broken country, marched towards *Vittoria*, reaching *Bayas* on the 19th June, where the French were drawn up in three lines, behind the *Zadorra*.

The basin, at the further end of which *Vittoria* is situated, is about ten miles in length by eight in breadth, and is divided in two unequal parts by the *Zadorra*, which flows into the *Ebro*, passing through two lofty mountain ridges, that on the left being the heights of *Morillas*, and on the right, those of *Puebla*, *Vittoria* being about eight miles distant from the Pass of *Puebla*.

The 38th Regiment, which formed part of the force under Sir Thomas Graham, suffered great privations during the difficult march across hundreds of miles of country intersected by rivers, and crossed by mountain ranges. On the 18th June, it participated in the skirmish at *Osma*, and, on the 20th, General Graham effected his junction with Lord Wellington, who collected his forces for his great effort against Joseph's

army. When day broke on the succeeding eventful morning, the following was the strength of the opposing forces:—The Anglo-Portuguese army—excluding General Pakenham's 6th Division, 6,500 strong, which had been left at Medina de Rimar—numbered 60,000 men, with 90 guns, the Spanish auxiliaries raising the strength to over 80,000. The French army, on the other hand, had a gross strength of less than 70,000 combatants, so that the advantage as to numbers, almost for the first time since the commencement of hostilities, rested with the Allies, while Joseph's position was a defective one, and he had seven bridges to defend.

Wellington formed his army for three distinct attacks, Sir Rowland Hill, with 20,000 men, being directed to attack the enemy's left and thread the defile of Puebla, and enter the basin of Vittoria, while the Commander-in-chief himself led the centre, consisting of the flower of the army, some 30,000 men. The Third Army Corps, including the 5th Division of which Captain Willshire's regiment formed a part, was placed under the command of Sir Thomas Graham, who was directed to operate on the extreme left, from Murguia by the Bilbao road, against the position of General Reille, who was defending the passage of the Zadorra by the bridge of Gomara Mayor. To effect this movement, which, if successful, would completely turn the French position, and shut them up between the river and the Puebla mountains, General Graham had under his orders 20,000 men—including the 5th Division, (the brigades of which were led by Major-Generals F. P. Robinson and A. Hay,) the 1st Division, Bradford's and Pack's Portuguese brigades, Anson's and Brett's German cavalry, and Longa's Spanish division—and 18 guns.

General Oswald, commanding the 5th Division, who led the head of Sir Thomas Graham's column, consisting of his own division, Pack's Portuguese, and Longa's Spaniards, attacked Reille's advanced troops, under General Sarrut, and soon after noon drove them from the village of Arauguis and the heights commanding the bridges of Ariaga and Gomara Mayor, and, continuing his advance, forced the enemy to retire from Durana, thus cutting off the line of retreat of the main army, and confining it to the road of Pampeluna. But Reille, who appears to have been a general of resource, made a new disposition of his troops, and General Sarrut, having re-crossed the river, defended the bridge of Ariaga, and the village beyond it, with one brigade, while the other was held in reserve, equally supporting Sarrut and La Martinière, who defended the bridge

and village of Gomara Mayor, the brigade of cavalry being in support.

General Robinson's brigade,* of the 5th Division, formed in three columns, and supported by some guns, made a dash at Gomara in gallant style, but recoiled under the heavy fire of artillery and musketry; rallied by their officers, and led by the general, they again charged, and, breaking through the village, crossed the bridge. But Reille suddenly brought the fire of twelve guns to bear upon the village, and La Martinière retook the bridge. At this juncture, General Hay's brigade, consisting of the Royals, 9th and 38th Regiments, came to the assistance of General Robinson, and the bridge was again carried; but the post was so completely commanded by the fire of the French artillery beyond the river, that it was abandoned, though the village was held. Sir Thomas Graham's endeavour to carry the bridge of Ariaga was equally ineffective, though the 1st Division succeeded in capturing the village of Abechuco, which covered it. Thus Reille prevented the British from passing the river, until, owing to the success of Wellington—who had carried all before him, and reached Vittoria itself—he found the British cavalry riding out of the city upon his rear. Having taken the precaution to form a reserve of infantry at Betima, he was enabled to retire and rally his troops at that point, his cavalry meanwhile showing a gallant front. Reille fought his way against the overwhelming masses of the victorious allied army, but he could not stay the headlong flight of Joseph's main column, which fled with precipitation, leaving on the field, besides 6,000 killed and wounded, and some hundreds of prisoners, 143 guns, all the supplies and stores from the depôts at Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos, one standard, Marshal Jourdan's bâton (captured by the 87th Regiment, led by Colonel Gough †), and no less than 5,500,000 dollars, which were plundered, chiefly by the non-combatants. The loss of the allied army in achieving this great victory was 5,176 killed, wounded, and missing, of whom only 1,600 were Spaniards and Portuguese. Throughout this great battle Captain Willshire commanded the light company of his regiment.

The pursuit of the retreating enemy was commenced on the 22nd July, towards Pampeluna, which King Joseph reached on the 24th, Wellington detaching Sir Thomas Graham, with a

* At this time the brigade, under the command of Major-General F. P. Robinson, consisted of the 1st Battalion of the 4th King's Own and the 2nd Battalions of the 47th and 59th Regiments.

† The late Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, G.C.B.

portion of his corps, to Guipuscoa by the Pass of Adrian, the 5th Division remaining at Salvatierra, a day's march in advance of Vittoria. On the 28th June, General Foy, after some severe and indecisive fighting with Graham's corps and Longa's Spaniards, threw a garrison of 2,600 men into San Sebastian, which was further strengthened by the garrison of Guetaria, and, on the 1st July, he passed the Bidassoa—Reille, who had received ammunition and artillery from Bayonne, occupying a defensive line from Vera to the bridge of Behobia with 25,000 men. Meanwhile Clauzel had approached Vittoria, on the day following the battle, with 14,000 fresh troops, but, learning the state of affairs, retired upon Logrono, towards which Wellington (who received a Field-Marshal's bâton for his great victory) directed the 5th and 6th Divisions from Salvatierra and Vittoria, himself marching in that direction with four other divisions, leaving General Hill, with the 2nd Division, to invest Pampeluna. The 38th Regiment traversed the country to Penosserada, and, descending into the plain of the Ebro, advanced by La Guardo to Logrono, but, as Clauzel had changed the direction of his march, and retired to Jacca, pursued by the partizan chief, Mina, Wellington drew off his forces; and General Hill, having driven Gazan from all his positions in the valley of Bastan, by the 7th July the whole Spanish frontier, from Ronscesvalles to San Sebastian, was cleared of the enemy. Wellington now resolved to lay siege to this fortress, the acquisition of which was of special importance to him, as affording a seaport for his new base of supplies, Portugal being no longer available since his advance across the Peninsula, while he determined only to blockade Pampeluna,* as, owing to the failure of Sir John Murray at Tarragona, the French, under Clauzel and Suchet, were still strong in Catalonia, where their united forces numbered 45,000 good troops.

San Sebastian was a place of very great strength, having a land front of 350 yards stretching quite across the low sandy isthmus formed by the harbour on one side and the river Urumca on the other; behind it rose the Monte Orgullo, a rugged cone nearly 400 feet high, its base washed by the ocean and its summit crowned by the small castle of La Mota, itself commanded by the Monte Olia on the other side of the river. The southern or land face of the castle, overlooking the town, was strengthened by batteries and a line of works consisting of a

* Pampeluna capitulated on the 31st October, after an investment of four months, during which the garrison defended themselves with great gallantry and endured fearful hardships.

high curtain, having a lofty casemated bastion in the centre, with half-bastions at either end and a regular "horn-work" pushed out from the front, distant about 600 yards from the neck of the isthmus, which was defended by a fortified convent and redoubt on the ridge of San Bartolomeo.

On the 22nd June, the day after the battle of Vittoria, General Rey entered the place with the convoy, which had quitted Vittoria on the 20th, and, on the 27th, General Foy, retreating before Sir Thomas Graham, threw a reinforcement into the place, so that when Graham arrived before San Sebastian on the 9th July, the town had a garrison of 3,000 men, and the works were mounted with 76 pieces of artillery. The besieging force consisted of the 5th Anglo-Portuguese Division, under General Oswald, and the Portuguese brigades of Wilson and Bradford, with detachments from the 1st Division,—the whole corps, including artillerymen, some seamen, and 100 Sappers and Miners (as we are told, "now for the first time used in the sieges of the Peninsula")—being less than 10,000 men, with a battering train of altogether 40 pieces of artillery.* The covering force consisted of the 7th and Light Divisions. The plan of siege, as proposed by the commanding engineer, Major Smith, who defended Tarifa, and approved both by Sir T. Graham and Lord Wellington, was to establish batteries across the Urumea, whence the flanks of the works could be raked, and a breach formed, while counter-batteries were to attack from the ridge of San Bartolomeo on the opposite bank of the river, and the castle was to be assailed with vertical fire.

The 38th arrived before San Sebastian on the 6th July, and, on the 14th, two batteries, forming the left attack, opened fire against the convent and redoubt of San Bartolomeo. On the following day, aided by some howitzers, the batteries set the convent on fire, and silenced the musketry of the besieged, but when some Portuguese troops of the 5th Division, which was stationed on the left bank, advanced to the assault, they were repulsed with heavy loss. On this failure the batteries resumed their fire, and, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th, an assault in two columns was delivered by a portion of the 5th Division, which was completely successful, and both the redoubt and convent were carried in the most gallant manner by some companies of the 1st Royals and 9th Regiments, badly supported

* Fourteen iron 24-pounders, six 8-inch brass howitzers, four 68-pounder caronades, and four iron 10-inch mortars. Also from the fleet, six 24-pounders and six 18-pounders.

by the Portuguese. In this affair the British suffered severely, four companies of the 9th, under Colonel Cameron, alone losing seven officers and sixty men killed and wounded.

Batteries were formed in the redoubt by the Engineers, now directed by Sir Richard Fletcher, and these, with two other fresh batteries on the right attack, were completed on the 20th July, when the whole of the ordnance opened fire. The effect of the concentrated fire of so many guns and mortars on the horn-work and other defences, notwithstanding every effort of the enemy's gunners, was so satisfactory, two great breaches being made and the adjacent houses and works in flames, that Sir Thomas Graham resolved upon an assault, and, on the night of the 24th July, General Hay's brigade of the 5th Division, about 2,000 strong, was assembled in the trenches on the isthmus. The assaulting column consisted of the 3rd Battalion of the Royals, led by Major Frazer, who, supported by the 9th under Colonel Cameron, were to storm the great breach, and the 38th Regiment, under Colonel Greville, to assault the lesser and more distant breach. No more desperate duty had ever been entrusted to British troops, as appears from the following description of the difficulties to be encountered:—"The distance from the trenches to the points of attack was more than 300 yards along the contracted space lying between the retaining wall of the horn-work and the river; the ground was strewn with rocks covered by slippery seaweed, the tide had left large and deep pools of water, the parapet of the horn-work was entire as well as the retaining wall, the parapets of the other works, and the two towers which closely flanked the breach, although injured, were far from being ruined, and every place was thickly garnished with musketeers."

It was still dark on the morning of the 25th July when the storming columns moved out of the trenches, which was the signal for the firing of a mine of thirty barrels of powder placed in an old drain, which exploded with good effect against the counterscarp and glacis of the horn-work. The enemy retreated from the breach, which was first reached by Major Frazer and Lieutenant (the late Sir Harry) Jones, R.E., but they were not well supported by their men. Frazer was killed, Jones and the few brave soldiers by his side struck down, and the supporting detachment was in confusion, Lieutenant Machell of the Engineers being killed. The 38th advanced against the lesser breach, but met the retiring stream of the Royals, which were intermingled with some companies of the 9th, who endeavoured to pass them. In vain were the exertions of the officers, who

strove by voice and example to lead their men over the breach ; the regiments got mixed, and, being in the narrow path between the river and the horn-work, could neither advance nor retreat, while the shells and bullets ploughed through the dense mass of struggling soldiers, which at length succeeded in regaining the trenches.* Captain Willshire escaped scatheless, but forty-nine officers and 520 men had been killed, wounded, or made prisoners in the disastrous affair, which was mainly caused by the neglect of Lord Wellington's emphatic instructions three days before, that the assault was to be delivered at daylight. His lordship arrived at San Sebastian on the following day, and, until the receipt of the ammunition and additional ordnance from England, the siege was converted into a blockade.

On the 5th August the siege of San Sebastian was resumed by Sir Thomas Graham, but it was not until the 19th that the heavy battering train arrived from England. Meanwhile the enemy also had received accessions of strength, and, owing to the neglect of the Admiralty, of which Lord Melville was the inefficient head, in failing to keep a sufficient naval force to blockade the port, or assist in the siege,† the garrison had been reinforced, notwithstanding all losses, to a strength of 2,600 men, their magazines were refilled, and sixty-seven pieces of ordnance were mounted on the defences. On the 23rd August a second battering train arrived from England, making the total strength 117 pieces of ordnance, and the batteries of both attacks were rapidly constructed and armed, so that, on the 26th August, the second siege was opened in presence of Lord Wellington with a salvo from 57 pieces. Other batteries were formed on the island of Santa Clara, in the harbour, and on the isthmus within 300 yards of the main front, and trenches were made from the parallel, a sap being pushed close to the demi-bastion of the horn-work. The overwhelming fire of the besiegers had rendered the situation of the garrison desperate, and General Rey, the brave defender of San Sebastian, was without hope of succour from Marshal Soult. At two a.m. on

* In this desperate conflict the Royals bore the most conspicuous part, and suffered very severely, their loss being seven officers and eighty-one men killed, and eight officers and 237 wounded. Though, owing to the defences round the breach not having been destroyed, success was impossible, "the Royals," writes Sir Thomas Graham, "refused to give way in the least until General Hay received orders through General Oswald to retire."

† Lord Wellington wrote that "anything in the shape of a naval force would drive away Sir George Collier's squadron;" and again he says, "Since Great Britain has been a naval power, a British army had never before been left in such a situation at a most important moment." Napier animadvertes strongly on the conduct of the Admiralty, and gives numerous instances of their incapacity and negligence.

31st August, two mines were sprung with the object of opening a short way for the troops to reach the strand, and an hour before noon the assaulting column advanced to the attack. It consisted of 750 volunteers, fifty from each of the fourteen regiments of the 1st, 4th, and Light Divisions, General Robinson's brigade of the 5th Division (which was now under its old commander, Sir James Leith), the other brigade, consisting of the Royals, the 9th, and 38th, under General Hay, being placed in reserve. Bradford's brigade of Portuguese was also directed to ford the river from the opposite bank and assail the furthest breach. The gallant commander of the 5th Division was exceedingly wroth at volunteers from other divisions being brought, as Lord Wellington said, "to show other troops how to mount a breach," and refused to permit them to lead the assault, which he entrusted to General Robinson's brigade, the battalion of volunteers being spread along the trenches to keep down the fire of the horn-work, and Hay's British and Spry's Portuguese brigades of his division being held in reserve. General Robinson's brigade was formed in two columns, one to assault the old breach between the towers, and the other the bastion of St. John and the end of the high curtain. Bradford's Portuguese brigade, advancing from the right attack, were to wade the river, here 200 yards wide, and assault the small breach on the extreme right.

After a heavy fire of three hours' duration from the besiegers' batteries, at 11 a.m. Robinson's brigade, advancing from the trenches, passed through the openings made in the sea-wall, and, forming on the strand, advanced against the breaches nearly 200 yards distant. Then commenced one of the most desperate struggles recorded in the annals of war, and of 1,000 men of the brigade who advanced to the assault, 48 officers and 642 men were killed and wounded. All was in vain, however, and gradually General Hay's reserve brigade was pushed forward to their assistance, until the left wing of the 9th only remained in the trenches. The Royal Scots, commanded by Colonel Barnes, and the 38th, by Colonel Greville, maintained their reputation for discipline and intrepidity in the terrible conflict, and carried some of the traverses at the semi-bastion, but in vain were their efforts to mount the breach, and of their officers, conspicuous among whom was Captain Willshire, who had his subaltern killed by his side, to encourage them to fresh exertions.*

* Napier vividly describes the scene:—"The French seeing the first mass of assailants pass the horn-work regardless of its broken bastion, immediately abandoned

General Graham witnessed this fearful scene of carnage from the batteries across the river, and immediately directed the concentrated fire of fifty pieces of artillery upon the high curtain, and the shot, flying over the heads of the stormers gathered at the foot of the breach, broke down the traverses and killed the gallant defenders on the ramparts. At the same time he directed a Portuguese regiment to cross the river and attack the third breach; a detachment of the 24th Regiment, under Colonel Macbean, also crossing to assist at the great breach. Again the British columns made a desperate effort to carry the works, but it was clear the task was beyond their power, as the defences had not been sufficiently demolished.

They were beaten back, and it seemed as if the second attempt to storm San Sebastian would end in failure like the

the front, and crowded on the river face of that work, poured their musketry into the flank of the second column as it rushed along a few yards below them; but the soldiers, still running forward towards the breach, returned this fire without slackening their speed. The batteries of the Monte Orgullo and the St. Elmo now sent their showers of shot and shells; the two pieces on the cavalier swept the face of the breach in the bastion of St. John, and the four-pounder in the horn-work being suddenly mounted on the broken bastion, poured grape-shot into their rear. Thus, scourged with fire from all sides, the stormers, their array broken alike by the shot and by the rocks they passed over, reached their destination, and the head of the first column gained the top of the great breach; but the unexpected gulf below could only be passed at a few places where meagre parcels of the burned houses were still attached to the rampart, and the deadly clatter of the French muskets from the loop-holed wall beyond soon strewed the narrow crest of the ruins with dead. In vain the following multitude covered the ascent, seeking an entrance at every part; to advance was impossible, and the mass of assailants, slowly sinking downwards, remained stubborn and immovable on the lower part of the breach. Here they were covered from the musketry in front, but from several isolated points, especially the tower of Las Homos, under which the great mine was placed, the French still smote them with small arms, and the artillery from the Monte Orgullo poured shells and grape without intermission. Such was the state of affairs at the great breach, and at the half-bastion of St. John's it was even worse. The access to the top of the high curtain being quite practicable, the efforts to force a way were more persevering and constant, and the slaughter was in proportion; for the traverse on the flank, cutting it off from the cavalier, was defended by French grenadiers who would not yield; the two pieces on the cavalier itself swept along the front face of the opening, and the four-pounder and the musketry from the horn-work swept in like manner along the river face. In the midst of this destruction some sappers and a working party attached to the assaulting columns endeavoured to form a lodgment, but no artificial materials had been provided, and most of the labourers were killed before they could raise the loose rocky fragments into a cover. During this time the besiegers' artillery kept up a constant counter-fire, which killed many of the French, and the reserve brigades of the 5th Division were pushed on by degrees to feed the attack until the left wing of the 9th Regiment only remained in the trenches. The Volunteers also had been with difficulty restrained in the trenches, 'calling out to know why they had been brought there if they were not to lead the assault.' These men, whose presence had given such offence to General Leith that he would have kept them altogether from the assault, being now let loose, went like a whirlwind to the breaches, and again the crowded masses swarmed up the face of the ruins, but reaching the crest-line, they came down like a falling wall; crowd after crowd were seen to mount, to totter, and to sink; the deadly French fire was unabated, the smoke floated away, and the crest of the breach bore no living man."

first, when suddenly a number of powder-barrels and shells exploded, killing hundreds of the enemy, and the whole curtain was speedily wrapped in flame. Taking advantage of the confusion and the smoke, which blinded the defenders, the storming columns advanced a third time, and, after a very severe conflict, the French, borne down by numbers, gave way and abandoned the horn-work, and the loop-holed wall behind the great breach. Thus the town was won after five hours' fighting, but, unhappily, the honours of the day were sullied by excesses committed by a portion of the troops, who repeated the scenes that had disgraced the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. Though he had done enough for the honour of his flag, the gallant Rey prolonged the hopeless conflict, and retired with 1,300 men to the castle on Monte Orgullo, which was further protected by four batteries stretching across the face of the hill, and the fortified convent of Santa Teresa.

Lord Wellington arrived on the day following the assault, and a heavy fire was opened from batteries in the town and from the right attack. The French Governor, being almost without ammunition, could make but little reply; but he refused to surrender, and it was not until the 9th September, when fifty-nine battering pieces were pounding at his crumbled works, that he agreed to march out with the honours of war, at the head of one-third of his original garrison. The British loss, during this second siege, was 2,500 killed and wounded, among the former being Sir Richard Fletcher, and among the latter Generals Leith, Oswald, and Robinson, and Colonel Burgoyne,* second in command of the Engineers. Captain Willshire also mourned the death of his youngest and favourite brother, John, a captain in the 38th Regiment, who was shot through the lungs when fighting among the foremost at the deadly breach on the 31st August. This fine young officer, who possessed in a high degree the natural advantages for which the family were distinguished, lingered for some days in great suffering, tenderly nursed by his brother Thomas, who, with bitterness of spirit, performed the last sad offices for one who died the soldier's death at the early age of 19.† William, the second in point of age of this band of brothers, died, in 1826, from the effects of illness contracted on service in the West Indies, and thus the subject of this memoir had to

* The late Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B.

† John Willshire's commission as Ensign was dated 5th October, 1804, he being then ten years of age. His next elder brother, William, was gazetted Ensign on the preceding 24th May.

mourn the loss of a father and two brothers in the service of his country,

The following retrospect of an episode in the storming of San Sebastian—a day as glorious to the handful of brave defenders as to the gallant men who carried the works—is by a reverend gentleman who was a subaltern in Captain Willshire's company:—"I commenced the profession, in which I have now attained some rank, where we should end—with the burial service. There were two brothers, Lawrence, in the 38th Regiment, one killed, the other mortally wounded at the storming of San Sebastian, on the 31st August, 1813, a ball having passed right through under one armpit and out at the other. He lingered several days in pitiable agony. Poor Lawrence was buried in the cloisters of the arsenal, which had been a church, and desecrated, not first by us, but by Napoleon. Lawrence was in the light company, and its brave commander, Captain Thomas Willshire, deeply regretted him, and while hundreds, wrapt in their blankets, found a silent burial, Captain Willshire, in the usual absence of clerical aid, read, not without tears, the solemn service of our Church over his esteemed subaltern. He had not gone half through when an instant order for duty summoned him from the grave. Silently he handed the book to me, and I entered upon my novitiate over his remains. Peace changed my profession, but whether at the grave of the high and mighty, or of the lowly and neglected, filling the pulpit of the Chapel Royal, or in my own secluded parish church, the first ceremony I ever performed has always been present to my recollection, and never shall I forget the semi-ordination prefigured by the appointment of one of the bravest officers that ever bore her Majesty's commission."

Captain Willshire was gazetted Brevet-Major, under date August 31, for his services. Soult had made repeated, but unavailing, attempts to relieve San Sebastian, and, on 31st August, the day of the assault of that fortress, five combats, including the actions of San Marcial and Vera, had been fought at different points on the line; the loss of the Allies, who of 35,000 men had only 10,000 engaged behind strong positions, being 2,600, while Soult's generals, D'Erlon, Clauzel, and Reille, lost 3,600 out of 30,000 men actually under fire, being two-thirds of the Duke of Dalmatia's army. After these defeats, and the capture of San Sebastian, Soult remained on the defensive, and Wellington, who had acquired an excellent seaport, made his combinations for forcing the passage of the Lower Bidassoa and invading French territory. In his dispo-

sitions for the assault of the French positions defending the Bidassoa, he designed to employ the 1st and 5th Divisions and the unattached brigades of Wilson and Lord Aylmer, in all about 15,000 men, which were to cross the mouth of the Bidassoa by the ordinary fords above the bridge of the Behobia and by three fords pointed out to him by fishermen as practicable at low water, between the bridge and the sea, a daring enterprise, as the tide at this point rises sixteen feet, leaving at the ebb, open heavy sands about half a mile in breadth.

The night of the 6th October was wild and tempestuous, and the 5th Division, including the 38th Regiment, sheltered themselves as best they could behind a large embankment opposite the small town of Andaya, until seven on the following morning, when the division, with Lord Aylmer's brigade, emerging from their concealment, entered the sands in two columns, that on the left directed against the French camp of the San Culottes, and that on the right against the ridge of Andaya. On passing the fords of the low-water channel a signal was sent up from Fuentarabia, when the other columns commenced the passage of the fords above the bridge of Behobia, and the 6th Division made a false attack on D'Erlon's position. General Maucune's division of Reille's corps, some 5,000 strong, was completely taken by surprise, and when Marshal Soult, divining the true nature of the attack, hurried up from Espiletto, the 2nd Brigade of the 5th Division had crossed the river without firing a shot, and formed their line on the right bank. But the alarm had spread, and as they advanced from Andaya towards the Croix des Bouquets, they were met by Maucune's division, assisted by the greater portion of Boyer's troopers and the 1st Division, having crossed the ford above the bridge and driving the enemy opposed to them from their posts, advanced also upon the Croix des Bouquets, which formed the key of the position, and, after a sharp action, the ridges were won, and Reille, finding his flanks also turned, the left by Freyre's Spaniards on the Mandale, and the right by the Anglo-Portuguese along the sea-coast, retreated in great disorder towards Bayonne. In this admirably planned and executed affair, the Allies lost 600 men, and Reille 400, and guns, and his loss would have been greater but for the timely arrival of Soult.

Throughout the 7th October Major Willshire commanded the light companies of his brigade, and, as such, was the first man to cross the Bidassoa. An officer of the 46th Regiment (which he subsequently joined), writes of the part taken by Major

Willshire, who, later in the day, operated independently:—"I recollect his giving a very instructive description of an attack on a French column by the light troops. These light troops enveloped the base of a height on which one or more French columns were posted and which was more advanced than the line of heights on its right and left. As they gradually mounted the height and came in sight of the French column more advanced than the others,* every shot told, and the French were obliged to retire; the French commander now 'shook out' a company (to use Willshire's own expression), but it was soon driven in, and another company was immediately 'shaken out,' but with the same result. The commander, to encourage his men, galloped among the British skirmishers, and nearly rode over Willshire—of course he never returned to his column, man and horse being laid low. Had he 'shaken out' three or four companies at the first moment, the result in all probability would have been very different."

Equally successful was Lord Wellington in his combination at Vorn, when the 43rd and 52nd Regiments covered themselves with glory, as indeed they had done throughout the war, but the loss of the Allies was nearly 1,000 men, of whom half were Spaniards, who had fought well under the inspiring lead of a young officer of the 43rd—a brother of the late General Havelock, who was known, from his fair hair, as "El chico blanco" (the fair boy). On the following day the great mountain Rhune and the French camp at Sarre were captured, and thus Wellington's masterly combinations were crowned with complete success. His army, at this time, was organised in three corps, the right under Sir Rowland Hill, the centre under Marshal Beresford, and the left under Sir John Hope (in succession to Sir Thomas Graham who had proceeded to England), described by Wellington as the "ablest officer in the army." Opposed to this army,—which, including the troops of Mina and Del Parque, now garrisoning Spanish fortresses, numbered 100,000 men, of whom 73,000 were Anglo-Portuguese, —Soult had 79,000 under arms, of whom 13,000 were in garrison.*

The 38th Regiment formed part of the force under Sir John Hope, employed in holding the enemy's right in check, and did not take a prominent part in the battle of the Nivelle, fought

* These estimates are exclusive of two armies in Arragon and Catalonia, under Marshal Suchet, Duke of Albufera, amounting to 65,000 men, of whom 56,000 were under arms. Suchet had opposed to him 35,000 men, of whom 14,000 were Lord William Bentinck's Anglo-Sicilian Division.

on the 10th of November, when the contending armies numbered, the Allies 90,000 men with 95 guns, and the French, under Soult, 60,000, posted behind a mountain position he had been fortifying for three months. In this great battle the loss of the former was 2,694 killed and wounded, and of the latter 4,265, including 1,400 prisoners, together with 51 pieces of artillery. But Major Willshire was fortunate enough to participate in the several actions on the Nive on the 9th, 10th, and 11th December. For some time, owing to the inclement weather, Wellington was unable to quit the contracted space he occupied, and pass the Nive; but, early in December, the rain ceased and he made his dispositions for forcing a passage across the river at Cambo and Ustaritz, a difficult and dangerous operation, as Soult had established entrenched camps, one of great strength being in front of Bayonne, itself situated at the confluence of the Nive and Adour. Sir John Hope and General Charles Alten—with the 1st, 6th, and Light Divisions, the unattached brigades of Infantry, Vandeleur's cavalry, and 12 guns, in all some 24,000 men—were instructed by Lord Wellington to drive the French advanced posts, forming the first line of defence, along the whole front of the entrenched camp between the Nive and the sea, while the 4th and 7th Divisions were to move up in support, and Beresford and Hill were to cross the Nive with the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th Divisions of infantry, Morillo's Spaniards, Hamilton's Portuguese, Vivian and Victor Alten's cavalry, and 14 guns.

Sir John Hope, having twelve miles to march from St. Jean de Luz, before he could reach the French works, quitted his camp during the night, and, soon after 8 a.m., came into collision with the enemy's outposts, which retired before him; about one in the afternoon, he arrived in front of the entrenched camp, his left then resting on the Lower Adour, his centre menacing a strong advanced work on the ridge of Beyris, and his right being in communication with General Charles Alten, who had a shorter distance to traverse. By this movement Sir John Hope, on the left bank, kept in check a superior force of six divisions, while the corps of Generals Hill and Beresford forced the passage of the Nive above and below Cambo, and marched to the heights of Somenthea. The loss of the Allies during the day's fighting, was about 800 men, the greater portion falling on Hope's corps. Soult, seeing that the two wings of his opponent's army were separated by the river, and unaware that the 4th Division was in support of the wing on the left bank, resolved to fall upon Hope, and, crossing D'Erlon's 4th

Division over the river, rapidly concentrated nine divisions of infantry, a brigade of cavalry, and 40 guns, in all about 60,000 men. Hope's corps, reinforced to a strength of 30,000 men and 24 guns, exhausted by twenty-four hours' constant marching, had retired to their cantonments, the 1st Division at St. Jean de Luz and Ciboure, six miles from the outposts, the 5th Division between those places and Bidart, when General Kempt, commanding the Light Division, who had orders to retire to Arbonne, a distance of four miles, somewhat suspicious of the enemy's movements, delayed compliance with Wellington's orders to fall back.

At daybreak on the 10th of December, the Light Division came into collision with the heads of the French column, and, about nine o'clock, Reille, advancing with two divisions, drove back Campbell's (formerly Wilson's) Portuguese from Anglet and assailed the ridge of Barrouilhet. The 5th Division, consisting of the brigades under General Robinson and Colonel Greville, (of the 38th Regiment) first came to the rescue of the hardly-pressed Portuguese, and a severe action ensued. Robinson's brigade formed the first line, Greville's brigade being at first in reserve, but presently the latter relieved Robinson's brigade, which had suffered severely, and, supported by Bradford's Portuguese and Lord Aylmer's brigade, was exposed to the attack of Reille's two divisions and some of Villatte's reserves. The enemy was repulsed in every attack, but Soult prepared to renew the battle all along the line, when Wellington brought up the 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 7th Divisions from across the river, held Clauzel in check, and prevented a renewed attack by the divisions of Foy, Reille, and Villatte. In this day's fighting the loss of the Allies was 1,200 killed and wounded, besides 300 made prisoners. The French loss was about 2,000, including General Villatte wounded, and three German regiments came over to Wellington's standard.

On the following day the battle was renewed, Soult, about two o'clock, making a sudden attack with Darricau's divisions from Bussussany along the connecting ridge of Barrouilhet, while Boyer attacked by the main road. A desperate hand-to-hand fight now ensued, the soldiers of both armies being mingled in the outbuildings of the mayor's house and in the copice in front of it. The 5th Division was severely handled, General Robinson being wounded, and it was only by the utmost exertions of Sir John Hope, who, notwithstanding a severe wound he received, animated his soldiers by his example, that the French were finally beaten back, the loss on either

side being about 600 men. In consequence of their diminished strength, the 5th Division was withdrawn, its place being taken by the 1st Division, so that Major Willshire, who, throughout the severe fighting of the past three days, as at the passage of the Bidassoa, commanded the light companies of his brigade, did not participate in the action of the 12th of December. This series of battles was closed by the action of St. Pierre, fought on the 13th of December, when Sir Rowland Hill, being cut off from the rest of the army, successfully repelled, with 14,000 men and 14 guns, seven French divisions of infantry, numbering over 35,000 combatants, of whom, however, only three divisions, or 16,000 men, with 22 guns, were actually engaged. The total loss of the Allies in the five days' fighting on the Nive, is placed by Napier at 4,500 men killed and wounded, including five generals, and 500 prisoners; and of the French, 6,000, with two generals.

One of Major Willshire's subalterns on being appealed to for any reminiscences of the subject of this memoir, sends the following notes of his captain during the last scenes of the Peninsular War:—"On the march, the light companies of the 5th Division marched in advance of columns of brigade. On June 18th, 1813, whilst on our march, Willshire said to me, 'Come, Tom, let us lie down behind this brushwood and look at the fine horses of the Horse Guards Blue and Scots Greys just passing.' We were enjoying much and extolling the beauty of each fine horse, when we heard dropping shots of musketry, and instantly mounting our horses, galloped off to our men, who were sharply engaged with French skirmishers; a French column having unexpectedly crossed our route, we had a sharp day's work, and did not join bivouac till evening. There was a company of Brunswick cavalry attached to each British brigade. We drove the French through a village after much resistance. On our retiring to bivouac each officer was telling of deeds done, when a fine old fellow, captain of Brunswickers, in recounting his—(he spoke English imperfectly) said: 'A French soldier would me fire, but I did him die.' After this brief anecdote he affectionately saluted the mouth of his rum flask and took his pipe. At the battle of Vittoria, on the 21st of June 1813, the light companies extended from the bridge of Gomara Major to that of Minor; when the French retreated we followed closely, and at the close of the day were much in advance of our brigade. No baggage and empty haversacks; our men went for water as usual, and Buckley, a noted skirmisher of our company, brought a fine fat hen for the captain, and a

round vessel full of flour for himself and comrade on his head. The hen's feet were tied, her wings loose, with which she dusted Buckley till he became miller-like; however, we had a hearty laugh and a good meal of hen and dough-boys. I was an expert forager and sometimes was accompanied by Captain Willshire, when we deviated a little from our line of march in quest of wherewithal to replenish the haversacks and flasks. We were enabled to do this, as we Light Bobs were from under the general's eye, being in advance. In December following we had three days' successive fighting on the Nive. Willshire had none of his old officers, one being dead (Lawrence), and myself recovering from bad wounds. Willshire was sent to aid a line of Portuguese skirmishers, and as he approached he heard the commander roaring out, (but looking uncomfortable) the enemy pressing much—'Fas mas fogo,' (Fire away); the next in command said, 'Nao pode Senor Capitain,' (Fire away not possible); 'Per qui nao pode?' (Why not possible)? 'Por nao Fango cartoucho' (Because our powder is expended). 'Well then,' replied the hero Captain, 'Curree, Curree, con Diabolo' (Run, run, like the devil). Willshire, who used to laugh when telling this, took up their position and kept it. When commanding the brigade of light companies of the 1st Royals, 9th, and 38th, I was told he swam across the Bidassoa, and was first to land on the enemy's side. He was cool, brave, and decided in action."

On the 10th of April, Lord Wellington, who had fought the engagements of Tarbes and Orthes, brought his astonishing career of victory to a fitting climax by his hardly contested, but unavailing, victory at Toulouse—hardly won because he lost four generals and 4,659 men, and the French five generals and 3,000 men, and unavailing, because Napoleon had already abdicated the throne of France, and orders had been sent by the Provisional Government to Soult and Suchet (still holding out in Catalonia) to conclude an armistice.

During the progress of the operations in the interior, the Guards and 1st and 5th Divisions, with a brigade of Germans, were engaged in the investment of Bayonne. At three a.m. on the 14th of April, the besiegers were suddenly attacked by a strong column of the enemy, who, issuing from the fortress, drove in the pickets and fortified posts of St. Etienne, then held by General Hay's brigade of the 5th Division, and passing in the rear of the right wing of the investing army, surprised the Guards and threw the whole line into confusion. A severe hand-to-hand struggle ensued in the darkness, the bayonet

being freely used, and nearly 100 guns from the fortress and gunboats opened fire. When day began to break, the reserve brigade of the Guards, assisted by the Germans, who behaved with admirable calmness throughout the trying scene, in turn compelled the French to give way, and the positions were recovered.

In this unfortunate affair, the commanding general, Sir John Hope, was wounded and taken prisoner, General Hay* was killed, General Stopford and Colonel Lloyd, commanding the 38th Regiment, were wounded, Colonel Townshend, of the Guards, was taken prisoner, and the British loss was 830 officers and men, including 200 prisoners. The French loss was even greater, being one general and 900 men, according to their own admission. That a great disaster did not ensue is attributed by Napier, first, to the gallant defence of a fortified house by Captain Forster, of the 38th Regiment, and next, to the readiness and gallantry with which General Hinuber and his Germans retook St. Etienne. This was the last military episode of the Peninsular War, and, a few days later, the convention, concluded by Soult, caused the cessation of hostilities. The cavalry marching through France, took ship at Boulogne, the greater portion of the infantry embarked at Bordeaux for England, but some regiments of this army of veterans, the "astonishing infantry" of Albuera, than which no finer troops were ever assembled under British colours, including the 4th, 21st, 44th, and 85th Regiments, proceeded direct to America, and were present at the victory of Bladensburg, and decimated at the disastrous attack upon New Orleans.

Major Willshire returned from service in France in May, 1814, and his regiment† was quartered at Cork, and, in November, was stationed at Kinsale, when an amusing incident occurred, which is told by one of his subalterns:—"Our flank captains, Thomas Evans of the right and Thomas Willshire of the left, being supposed good economists, had lease of Mess Committee, the lieutenants being sleeping partners. Great loss of glass occurred during the movements of the regiment, and it was resolved that a chest should be constructed, and that each wine-glass should have a cell for itself, nicely wrapped in soft paper.

* Major-General Andrew Hay, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3rd Battalion, Royal Scots, who fell on this occasion, at the age of fifty-two, had led the 1st Brigade of the 5th Division throughout the latter part of the war with great skill and gallantry. His brother-officers erected a monument to his memory in the cemetery at St. Etienne, near Bayonne, and a cenotaph has also been placed by the country near the north door of St. Paul's Cathedral.

† The 2nd Battalion of the 38th Regiment was disbanded in this year.

Well, a room in barracks was got, in which to construct this much wanted chest. This room happened to be on the second storey, and carpenters, joiners, &c., succeeded, under special directions of the two Captains Tom, in making this monstrous chest. We became quite fearless of danger in future to our most useful and exhilarating vessels, the wine-glasses. The route came, every glass placed in safety, but alas! when the fatigue party came to load the mess baggage, great was the dismay of messmen, mess-waiters, captains, lieutenants, and every one concerned; the chest would not leave the room of its nativity, either by door or staircase. Now it was rather inconvenient for us committee-men. The Hon. Colonel Deane, (afterwards Lord Muskerry) one of our majors, a witty good-natured gentleman, happened to become aware of our distress; 'Surely,' said he, 'nothing can be too hard for the heroes of Badajoz and San Sebastian. Let a breach be made in the wall.' A breach was accordingly made, and the huge chest descended the breach, amidst cheers from cooks, waiters, and messmen of the 38th Regiment. Fearful barrack damages were threatened, but we made up the breach with the Barrack Master."

The return of Napoleon from Elba, once more called the nation to arms, but the 38th Regiment arrived too late to participate in Wellington's crowning victory of Waterloo. With the 40th and other regiments, it landed on the Continent in June, 1815, and marched to Paris, where it was first brigaded with the 36th, 73rd, and two battalions of the 95th, in the 4th British brigade of the 4th Division, under Sir Charles Greville, and on 24th August, with the 36th, 41st, and 73rd, in the 12th British brigade of the 2nd Division, under the same Brigadier. During the occupation of the capital Major Willshire served as Brigade-Major to Sir Charles Greville, who introduced him to the Duke of Wellington and recommended him for promotion. His Grace appointed him one of his aides-de-camp, and, on the 4th of December, conferred on him the Brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for his distinguished services in command of the light companies of Sir Charles Greville's brigade at the crossing of the Bidassoa on the 7th of October, and at the battles of the Nive.

In December, 1815, Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire returned to England with his regiment, which was quartered at Hastings and Portsmouth, and, in November, proceeded to Gloucester. In June, 1818, the regiment, under the command of Colonel Deane, embarked in transports and sailed from Plymouth for the Cape of Good Hope, where it continued until the early part of 1822.

The 38th was remarkable for its good conduct while in home quarters, as we find certified by the presentation of a complimentary resolution from the city of Gloucester, on the 26th of January, 1818, and by a paragraph in the *Military Register*, of the 6th of May of this year, to the effect that corporal punishment was unknown in the regiment.

Colonel Willshire was a great lover of animals. During the Peninsular War he had a most sagacious dog called Sancho, and, when in India, he kept as many as eight dogs at one time. One of these went mad, and as it was necessary to shoot him, his master resolved to do this himself; but his distress at taking the life of his dumb favourite was so great that he never would keep any house dogs again. His love for animals extended to cats and monkeys, and when commanding a brigade at Poona, a favourite cat not only followed him about the house, but would go out of the compound every evening to greet him returning on horseback, and when she met him, would spring up behind him on his charger, and return home with her master in this manner. In Africa he had a pet monkey called Jacko, as mischievously inclined as his kind usually are, which accompanied him when engaged campaigning against the Kaffirs and also to India. The veteran used to amuse his children, in his declining years, with anecdotes of this monkey.

The ship in which Colonel Willshire sailed for the Cape touched at Rio Janeiro, and cast anchor in Table Bay on the 9th of November, 1818. The transport of troops and officers was not conducted in those days with the consideration for their comfort which we now see, and the vessels were miserable little barques, and even brigs. An officer, who was on board one of the transports with the head-quarters, writes: "If I were to give you an account of how we were accommodated on this voyage it would shock you. One lady, the daughter of a baronet, went deranged during the passage, owing to the manner in which we were treated by the Transport Board. Three ladies, with their husbands, and five single gentlemen, in all eleven persons, shut up in one cabin from the middle of June till the 9th of November." While on the passage, Colonel Willshire employed his leisure in writing a military drill-book, entitled *Light Company Manœuvres in concert with Battalion Movements*. A brother officer, who accompanied him to the Cape and copied the MS. for him, preparatory to the work being presented to Sir Henry Torrens, says that Colonel Willshire "was about the best drill in the service."

In the year following the arrival of the 38th at Cape Town,

a duel took place in the regiment with fatal results. Owing to a misunderstanding between Captain Hussey and Lieutenant Osborne, a hostile meeting was arranged, and at the first fire the senior officer was shot through the heart. Strict inquiries were made as to who had acted as seconds, but no information was forthcoming, whereupon Colonel Deane summoned the regimental surgeon, who assured him on his honour he had neither been present nor witnessed the transaction, as he had made a resolution, in consequence of a previous affair, to have no part in a duel, even in a professional capacity; but the assistant-surgeon, from motives of humanity, had been present, and consequently he was summoned before the Colonel, Major, and Adjutant, and informed that, unless he gave a full account of the circumstance and the names of the parties concerned, he should be placed under arrest and tried as a principal. "On hearing of this," writes one who was concerned, "Colonel Willshire immediately called on the Colonel, read him a long lecture on the impropriety of such a proceeding, and assured him that he would for ever disgrace himself and the corps should he take any proceedings against the medical officer in this affair. After this the name of the assistant-surgeon was never brought forward in any of the subsequent proceedings, and as everything appeared to be fair and honourable, according to the laws of 'honour' so called, and no direct proof could be brought against any one concerned, the affair ended in an acquittal of all those accused."

Early in 1819, Colonel Willshire was sent to the north-eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, as Commandant of what was known as "British Kaffraria." This was a post of great responsibility, as the country was in an unsettled state, and the Kaffirs of the tribe of two noted chiefs, named T'Slambie and Lynx, were showing a very hostile disposition. Colonel Willshire had under his orders some 3,000 troops of all arms, scattered over a long frontier, with his head-quarters at Grahamstown, distant about 600 miles from Cape Town. But the position brought out his capacity for independent command, and showed that the lessons he had learned under the greatest Captain of the age had been taken to heart. The garrison at Grahamstown, in April, 1819, consisted only of his own company of the 38th, 140 Royal African Corps, and 100 troopers of the Cape Corps, with some artillery.

Shortly before Colonel Willshire's arrival at Grahamstown, the British authorities had recognised the chief Gaika as a sort of King of Kaffraria, and held him responsible for the conduct of

the Kaffirs, which exasperated the other independent chiefs who were his peers. Among these was one T'Slambie, described "as the greatest enemy the colonists ever had," who once boasted to Colonel Willshire, that "as long as the Fish River Bush was between him and the colony he could not be conquered, and that the English should have no rest." At length, the animosity between these rival chiefs rose to such a height, that they mustered their clansmen and met in battle on the Deba Flats, about twenty miles from the site of the present Fort Willshire, and on the ground where Fort White has since been established. In this engagement Gaika was totally routed, with very severe loss, and flying into the colony, reported his situation to the colonial authorities. As this animosity against Gaika, was due to his adherence to the British Government, Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of Cape Colony, in order to support his authority, despatched a column into Kaffraria to chastise T'Slambie and his adherents. The result was the capture of a great number of cattle, a large portion of which was given to Gaika in consideration of his late losses. Exasperated at their defeat, the confederate chiefs burst upon the colony, and, in a short time, overran the whole country as far as the Sunday river, committing all kinds of excesses.

About half-past one o'clock on the 22nd of April, the Kaffirs, 6,000 strong, under a chief named Mokanna, made a most determined and well-arranged attack upon Grahamstown, which was only repelled by the admirable arrangements of the Commandant and the bravery and steadiness of his troops, who killed 150 of the enemy. At half-past ten a.m. on that day, Colonel Willshire had the troop of colonial cavalry under arms for inspection, when a report reached him that the Kaffirs had attempted to carry away cattle from a spot not half a mile distant. Taking with him twenty-five of the troop, he immediately started in pursuit towards Botha's Hill, within two miles of which he discovered two parties of Kaffirs on the hill-side, amounting to between 200 and 300. On descending the hill to cross a small river at its foot, the Kaffirs appeared to be retreating towards the top of Botha's Hill, and suspecting they might have some of their strength concealed in the rear, he advanced with caution. His suspicions were soon verified, and, finding that they were seeking to cut him off, he recrossed the river with the cavalry higher up, and regained the hill he had quitted. In doing so he was followed by the Kaffirs, who rushed down with a yell and crossed the river in pursuit. From their number he concluded they intended an attack on Grahams-

town, and, immediately, despatched a messenger to direct the garrison to get under arms, while, with the handful of cavalry, he made frequent unsuccessful attempts to check them, their object being clearly to enter Grahamstown with the troopers. Seeing this, Colonel Willshire galloped towards the town, and had not reached it more than ten minutes, when the enemy showed on the top of the hills to the eastward about 2,400 yards distant, and extending in large bodies to the northward. It was now about a quarter to twelve o'clock, from which time till half-past one they continued to increase till they amounted to about 5,000, besides a body of at least 1,000, who were descending by a kloof towards the Royal African Corps barracks, situated on the right about 2,000 yards distant, at which Lieutenant Cartwright and sixty men were stationed.

Colonel Willshire ordered his second in command, Captain Trappes, of the 38th, with the light company and colonial troops to extend along and below a gentle slope from a plain about 800 yards from the town, to cover two guns which he directed Lieutenant Aitchison to take across the river, and place on the plain in rear of and above the cavalry and 38th, and sent the Royal African Corps to cross and remain in support of the guns and extended troops. The Kaffirs halted on the heights to organise their arrangements for the attack, which appear to have been very systematically and judiciously made. They were drawn up in three large bodies, having besides, a strong party in the valley which separates Grahams-town from Blue Krans, where the burghers of the George district, under Commandant Botha, were posted, apparently with the object of preventing relief coming from that quarter. Colonel Willshire quickly formed his plans for meeting this formidable attack from such overwhelming numbers.

Divining that their object was to turn his right with the force on the hills, and get into Grahamstown while he was engaged with their right and centre masses, and perceiving that from their numerical superiority they would be able to outflank him, and compel him to recross the river towards the town, he left all his five pieces of artillery, so placed by Lieutenant Aitchison that they could open fire on the Kaffirs should they cross the plain in following the British column as it descended from the plain into the ravine; and, in reserve with those guns, he left the Cape Corps to meet any attack on the town from another point. Colonel Willshire then directed the extended troops to advance and open fire upon a large body of the enemy thrown out in front, in the hope of inducing the

masses to move down to their support, and by that means get them within range of the guns; but they would not stir till the detached body that went to attack the African Corps barracks, began firing, on which the whole, according to Kaffir tactics, rushed down to the attack with yells, at first in masses, and then spread into clouds covering the face of the hill as they ran. Colonel Willshire immediately crossed over, and seeing a large body of the enemy pushing on to pass the right of the 38th, moved forward the African Corps then in reserve to their right, thereby bringing them in line with the 38th and cavalry, who had fallen back to the top of the slope of the plain with their right rather kept back, from which point, supported by the guns, they opened a well-directed fire and checked the Kaffirs.

Colonel Willshire now ordered the advance to sound, upon which the soldiers cheered, and the Kaffirs, first retiring, soon broke into panic flight, pursued by the troops. Not wishing the pursuit to be carried too far, and fearing that a body of the enemy, who had remained on the hill, might take advantage of his men being so far from the guns and the town, and make a rush to get in the rear, he sounded the retreat, and brought the troops back to the place where the guns were. Colonel Willshire writes in his despatch:—"The Kaffirs, when checked in their advance, were not more than 30 or 35 yards from the troops, and there they remained kneeling and ducking from the shot while many rounds were fired, till the advance sounded and the men cheered. The determination of these savages to do as much mischief as possible was wonderful; while kneeling and ducking in front of the troops, the right hand was always raised with the assegai, but their fear of looking at the fire prevented them throwing as often or as correctly as they otherwise would have done. On seeing a flash they immediately placed the left arm with the kaross (bull's-hide shield) before their eyes."

The firing still continuing at the barracks, Colonel Willshire directed the Cape Corps to be sent to the troops defending it, and, by half-past three o'clock, the Kaffirs were beaten in every direction and retreated. At dusk he returned to the town, placed the troops and guns at the necessary points for its defence, and kept them under arms all night.

In acknowledgment of his brilliant little victory, Colonel Willshire received a letter of thanks from Lord Charles Somerset, Governor and Commander of the Forces, in which his lordship, through his military Secretary, expressed "his warmest

acknowledgment for the very judicious and prompt disposition you made to receive the unlooked-for and most daring attack made by the Kaffirs on the 22nd ultimo: the complete success with which your efforts were crowned is a stronger proof than any praise his lordship can bestow on the ability with which they were made, and of the gallantry and steadiness of the troops under your command. His lordship requests that you will notify his thanks to the troops for their conduct in a frontier order, specifying the names of such officers as had opportunities of particularly distinguishing themselves." In another letter Lord Charles Somerset said:—"I beg to express myself highly satisfied with the zeal, activity, and attention with which you have carried through the very arduous services on which you have been employed, and to assure you that I shall not fail to communicate my sentiments thereon to H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief." The Duke of York also expressed to Colonel Willshire, through the Military Secretary, his "great satisfaction at this daring and well-conducted exploit."*

Within two or three weeks of repelling the enemy, Colonel Willshire proceeded into Kaffraria with a small column of troops, consisting of a detachment of his own regiment, and the whole of the Cape Corps, then divided into two troops of cavalry and four companies of infantry; and while he advanced on one side, a mounted burgher force swept through it in another direction. At length, in September, the chiefs finding that they had lost almost all their cattle, and seeing that a continuance of the war would lead to their certain destruction, sued for peace. This was granted, and the boundary of the colony was then extended to the Keiskamma river, with the understanding, however, that the country between it and the Fish river should remain unoccupied, except by military posts, and thence it derived the appellation of the Neutral territory.†

* General Elors Napier, in his work, *Southern Africa*, speaks as follows of the gallant repulse of the Kaffirs by Colonel Willshire:—"At the head of 10,000 Kaffirs, Makanna next made a desperate attack upon Grahamstown, which was resolutely defended by Colonel Willshire with about 250 British troops and a few Hottentots. Colonel Willshire repulsed the assailants with considerable slaughter and followed them into their own country. Nor were any proposals of peace listened to before the surrender of Makanna, and until the abandonment by the Kaffirs of the territory between the Keiskamma and Great Fish rivers, appeared to have ensured for the colony some degree of future peace and tranquillity."

† In April, 1835, hostilities again broke out, and Kaffraria was invaded by a British force divided into four columns, the first being accompanied by the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who, on the 10th of May, issued a proclamation declaring the right bank of the Kei to be the eastern boundary of the colony. Hostilities lasted for four months, but a treaty of peace was at length concluded with all the frontier

Colonel Willshire did not employ his energies only in killing all the King's enemies who opposed his arms, but showed that he had the good of the natives as well as the settlers at heart, by opening out roads through the jungle and constructing bridges over the rivers. He likewise built a fort some forty-five miles from Grahamstown, and about the same distance from the sea, which received his name.

An officer of the 38th, who commanded one of the out-stations under the orders of Colonel Willshire, writes of him: "I was with him for three months under canvas in the interior of some of the wildest parts of the Kaffir country. After our return from the expedition, he took up a position on the borders of the colony for the purpose of constructing Fort Willshire. The whole force erected their own mud-and-wattle huts, the Commandant himself living in one such habitation. I remember the chief (Gaika) coming to our camp with some of his wives to have an interview with the Commandant, and his favourite queen was with him on this occasion. Colonel Willshire obtained the sobriquet of 'Tiger Tom' from his being what is termed in the army, a martinet, compelling every one under him to perform their duties most strictly; but I must here observe he was most conscientiously scrupulous in the discharge of his own duties, never sparing himself any trouble, fatigue, or exposure. Officers and soldiers under his command had only to perform their duties punctually to ensure the approbation and goodwill of the colonel."

Early in 1822 Colonel Willshire embarked with his regiment for Calcutta, and Lord Charles Somerset addressed, unsolicited, the following letter to Lord Hastings, Governor-General of India:—

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, *March 7, 1822.*

"My dear Lord,—I wish to present to your lordship Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire of the 38th Regiment, whose conduct here in the performance of very arduous duties which have been consigned to him, has given him the strongest claim to my regard and esteem. Colonel Willshire served during the whole of the Peninsular War, and by distinguished and particular acts of gallantry obtained the respective steps of Major

tribes at Fort Willshire on the 17th September. One of the causes of this war was the expulsion beyond the Keiskamma river, by the Acting Governor, Colonel Wade, of Macoma, a son of the late Gaika, from the country about the Kat river, within the boundary, where he had been permitted to reside by Sir Lowry Cole. In 1846 a war on a still greater scale was entered upon against the Kaffirs, in subduing whom, Sir Harry Smith, General Cathcart, and others were engaged. Again, in 1850-52, there was a Kaffir war, the last of the series until the campaign of 1877-78.

and Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, and the Duke of Wellington placed him on the staff of his army. • Shortly after Colonel Willshire's arrival here (finding how efficient he was) I placed him in command of the force (upwards of 3,000) acting against the Kaffirs. In this arduous and difficult command he acquitted himself to my entire satisfaction, and in less than eight months he terminated the contest with the most complete success. Colonel Willshire has no influence but that, which the merit of his own conduct has obtained for him, and the unparalleled military reductions that have taken place since the conclusion of peace have occasioned officers on half-pay to be appointed to field-officers' commissions in the 38th Regiment, which appointments have, of course, greatly blasted the hopes of this excellent officer. Should your lordship have it in your power to employ Colonel Willshire in any staff situation, or to entrust him with a separate duty, I will pledge myself that you will find in him every quality that a brave, zealous, experienced, and intelligent officer can possess."

In regard to the reference made by Lord Charles Somerset to the introduction, into the 38th Regiment, of half-pay officers to the prejudice of Colonel Willshire, we may observe that not even the case of the late General Havelock—who averred that during his service a fool and two drunkards had purchased over his head—afforded an instance of greater hardship than that of our hero. Colonel Willshire had been in the regiment from his boyhood, and had performed his duty during the most glorious epoch of our military history with conspicuous success, but yet, owing to the system of promotion by purchase, this meritorious officer suddenly found himself deprived of his step to the rank of Major, well-earned by his services on the battle-fields of America, Europe and Africa, because he was a poor man. Not having the means to purchase the step in his regiment, Colonel Willshire, for the first and only time in his life, appealed for assistance to his uncle and godfather, Mr. Thomas Willshire, who inherited the wealth and business of his father, Mr. Noah Willshire, and always gave his nephew to understand that he had made him his heir. But the old man, enamoured of his money, declined to give him the promised aid, but added, "at my death you shall inherit all I have, but I cannot now do anything for you." The ill-fortune of Colonel Willshire in money matters, for he twice lost his all by the failure of agents, followed him in this instance, and he never received one shilling of his uncle's fortune, that gentleman having a few years later proceeded to the Continent, and, though he was traced as

far as Boulogne, nothing further was ever heard of him. In consequence of his inability to purchase his majority, Colonel Willshire had to leave the 38th Regiment, to which he was much attached.

Early in 1822, the 49th and 55th Regiments arrived at the Cape, and, in March, the 38th and 54th Regiments proceeded to India, the latter to Madras and the former to Calcutta. Colonel Willshire accompanied his regiment to India, where it arrived in May, but, on September 10, 1823, was gazetted to a regimental majority, without purchase, in the 46th Regiment (vice Major Ogilvie, promoted on the death of Colonel Moile), and so missed sharing in the first Burmese War, between the years 1824-26, in which the 38th Regiment, commanded by Major Evans, added fresh laurels to those it had already earned. It must have been peculiarly galling to Colonel Willshire to find that, almost immediately after leaving his regiment, it was ordered on active service, though its steadiness in action and high discipline under terrible difficulties and discouragements were, in no small degree, due to the efforts and example of its late senior captain.

Colonel Willshire joined the head-quarters wing of the 46th Regiment at Bellary, in the Madras Presidency, in March, 1824, and was in temporary command, Colonel Campbell being in command of the garrison, and Colonel Ogilvie on sick leave in Europe. An officer of the 46th, then at Bellary, says of him at this time: "We had heard before his arrival of his reputation as a disciplinarian, and of the sobriquet 'Tiger Tom,' by which he was known in the 38th. He was then young (though he had held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for nine years), and handsome, with large black whiskers, tall and active, strong though not stout. He was unremitting in his attention to the discipline of the regiment; was strict, indeed severe, but always impartial and just."

A few months after his arrival, Colonel Willshire was ordered to Belgaum, to command the detached wing forming part of the Doab field-force, under Colonel Pierce—his senior officer, Major Wallis, proceeding to command the head-quarters wing. On the 10th November, Colonel Willshire sent a detachment, consisting of three officers and 105 men, to join another detachment of five officers and 163 men, despatched from head-quarters on 31st October, to take part in the operations in the southern Mahratta country; and, on the 2nd December, he himself arrived with the remainder of his wing before the fort of Kittoor, against which operations were undertaken.

Kittoor was a small Mahratta state situated in the southern Mahratta country, between the Kistnah and Toombuddra rivers. The district is in the Bombay Presidency, and is called the "Doab," but, in 1824, it was held by troops from the Madras Presidency. The town and forts of Kittoor lie between Dharwar and Belgaum, about twenty-five or thirty miles from each. The Rajah, or Desai, as he was called, having died without issue, a pretended adopted child was brought forward by the widow and the minister, but was objected to by Mr. Thackeray, the British Commissioner, who, pending a reference to the Supreme Government, on the 20th October placed a guard over the inner gate of the lower fort. The guard, which consisted of his escort, a company of the 5th Madras N.I., and one gun of Captain Black's troop of Native Horse Artillery, was overpowered, and, on the 23rd, Mr. Thackeray, Captain Black, and Lieutenants Sewell and Dighton of the artillery, and many gunners, were killed when attempting to blow open the gate of the fort, and Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot, assistants to the Commissioner, were made prisoners. The three guns at the gates were also taken. Upon this a force was assembled at Belgaum, consisting, besides Her Majesty's 46th Regiment, of Artillery and Engineers, the 4th and 8th Madras Cavalry, the 6th, 14th, and 23rd Madras N.I., with part of the 45th and 49th Regiments, and a brigade of Bombay troops under Colonel Sealy.

Colonel Deacon, of the Madras army, commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, was directed to assume the chief command, and Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner in the Dekhan, came from Poona to conduct the negotiations. By the 2nd December the whole force was assembled at Kittoor, Colonel Willshire being in command of a brigade, consisting of seven companies of the 46th and two regiments of Madras N.I.

The only terms offered were unconditional surrender, but, it was added, the lives of the ringleaders would be spared. Negotiations were carried on for three days, during which guns were repeatedly fired from the fort at the troops, without doing any injury, the chiefs declaring that they could not restrain their undisciplined followers. One of the prisoners, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Elliot, in a lengthy MS. memorandum, now lying before us, gives an interesting account of the events that led to this *émeute*, and of the incidents of the outbreak, which space will not permit us to print, but this Kittoor affair is an almost forgotten episode of our Indian history, and full details of it have never been published.

Colonel Deacon, commanding the force, says, in his despatch,

which was unearthed, after some search, at the India Office :—
 “On my arrival at Kittoor on the 2nd, I had the gratification of finding that the prisoners, Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot, had just been surrendered, and were at Mr. Chaplin’s tent. Soon after this, having an opportunity of seeing Mr. Chaplin, I was informed that the enemy had, nevertheless, no intention of delivering up the fort, and as I required some hours to visit the several posts for the purpose of reconnoitring, no time was lost in allowing four-and-twenty hours for the consideration of the terms offered by the Commissioner. This period expired, and an answer was received decidedly refusing the terms. On this some guns were advanced to a position fronting the enemy’s fortified post of Kummumutey with the idea of attracting their attention during the advance of a party of infantry* from Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod’s post on my right, to storm the enemy’s position on their left flank. The guns opened about half-past five o’clock, with shells well directed by Major Palmer, and in five minutes after (the preconcerted time) Colonel McLeod, who had himself taken charge of the advancing party, was seen approaching a hill within 150 yards of the point of attack. This hill was in a moment cleared of all the match-lock men upon it, and they were so closely pursued to their stronghold that the Colonel with his gallant little party, entered the works along with them, which they abandoned, and fled with great loss to their upper fort, distant 1,000 yards. Thus this position, so favourable for future operations, was gained by this spirited and well-conducted advance without the loss on our side of a man either killed or wounded; but I am concerned to relate that Mr. Munro, a gentleman of the Commissioner’s suite, having advanced, was wounded severely in the breast. The enemy’s loss I do not exactly know, but I am inclined to think it was severe, though they got out of the way as quick as they could. This operation was most spiritedly supported by the rapid advance across the plain from the batteries, of the 23rd Regiment Light Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Conry. The remainder of the night was occupied in strengthening the post, and by daylight an excellent battery was prepared for 18-pounders, which commenced about nine a.m., to effect a breach in the wall of the upper fort, aided by some 6-pounders on an

* Two companies of the Bombay European Regiment, two companies of the 14th Regiment N.I., and two companies of the 6th Regiment N.I.

† The death of this young man, who was mortally wounded on this occasion, is mentioned in Vol. III., p. 420, of Gleig’s *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, whose nephew he was. The Kittoor affair is mentioned cursorily at p. 148 of Vol. II.

epaulement to the right, which Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod passed over in approaching the post the night before. This fire, assisted by a brisk one of shrapnel shells from Major Trewman's post on our left, produced a very serious effect, so that at half-past three p.m. a person came out to Mr. Chaplin to request permission to send a Vakeel. Mr. Chaplin instantly referred the messenger to me, and he was then sent back to inform the enemy that if they were inclined to surrender the fort, to lay down their arms, and to deliver over certain persons as prisoners, they should hoist a white flag as a signal that they were ready to do so. The flag was soon visible, and all hostilities ceased. Some demur afterwards occurring, it was necessary to be prepared to recommence firing with renewed vigour, to which effect, I supported the advanced parties by moving forward Her Majesty's 46th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire, and the 3rd Bombay N.I. under Lieutenant-Colonel Scaly; the batteries were several times about to reopen, when a little further delay by negotiation occurred; the prisoners were at length brought out, and the forts were surrendered about eight o'clock on the morning of the 5th instant. The spirit and determination of the troops were of the best description, and never did I observe duty more willingly and cheerfully performed."

Arms, horses, and treasure, to the value of twelve lacs of rupees, were found in the lower fort and became a prize, of which Colonel Willshire's share was 11,000 rupees, or nearly 1,400*l.*, the exchange for the rupee of that day being two shillings and sixpence. On the capture of Kittoor, Colonel Willshire's brigade was broken up, and, on the 15th of December, he returned with the wing of his regiment to Belgaum, leaving the detachment from Bellary, under Captain Dawe, in the fort. In March, 1825, the head-quarters and one wing of the regiment having proceeded to Cannanore under Major Wallis, Colonel Willshire, with his wing, marched to Bellary, which he reached on the 18th of March. Being senior officer he was in command of the garrison until July 22, 1826, when he marched to Hyderabad (in the Dekkan), and arrived at Secunderabad on the 21st of August. He was there joined by the head-quarters wing on January 12, 1827, when Colonel Campbell commanded the brigade, and Colonel Ogilvie the regiment. The 46th, as a portion of the Subsidiary Force, was stationed at the cantonment of Secunderabad, and Colonel Willshire, as senior Major, had under his immediate superintendence the drill of the regiment, in which he was indefatigable.

On August 30, 1827, he was gazetted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, without purchase, of the 2nd, or "Queen's," Regiment, then serving on the Bombay Establishment, and took leave of the 46th, to the regret of his brother officers. Soon after joining the Queen's at Poona, Colonel Willshire experienced a severe loss in the failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co. in India, by which all the savings he had effected during his military service were swept away, and, as he wrote to a friend, "after so many years' service he was as poor as when he first entered it." The wife of Colonel Ogilvie, of the 46th, writes of her reminiscences of Colonel Willshire at this time: "He bore the loss of all his property in the failure of Palmer's house in Calcutta most heroically. I believe, excepting ourselves, very few were aware that he had been a rich man, and had then to recommence making a fortune. I used to quiz him about matrimony, and tell him I should live to see him 'hen-pecked,' to which he replied that 'it would be a devil of a hen that pecked him.' After the loss by Palmer he wrote to Ogilvie, and sent a message to me that I should never see him 'pecked,' for he had not the means to marry. Colonel Willshire was fond of building, and re-built the house he occupied at Secunderabad, and we have to thank him for a plan for altering ours, which was carried out under his superintendence, and formed a most comfortable abode."

Colonel Willshire brought the gallant "Queen's" into the highest state of discipline and efficiency, and his memory is still revered amongst the "Lambs," with traditional sentiments of respect and admiration. In June, 1830, the "Queen's" were inspected by Major-General Sir Lionel Smith,* who, in his confidential report, thus wrote on the state of the corps:—"This regiment continues in the highest order. It is in all probability the last time that I shall have to report upon it, and I cannot close my duties with it without declaring that I have never yet met so perfect a commanding officer as Colonel Willshire. Whether in interior or parade discipline, his abilities have been equally conspicuous and successful, and the Queen's Royals in the conduct of all ranks under this able officer, are an honour to Her Majesty's army." In November, 1833, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, (afterwards Lord Raglan) Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, wrote as follows respecting Colonel Willshire:—"Lord Hill entertains the very highest opinion of

* This distinguished officer, while in command at Poona, issued an eccentric order prohibiting "pariah dogs and galloping cadets" from appearing on the parade-ground during Divine Service.

Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire, and will be glad of any opportunity to mark the sense he entertains of his services."

In the beginning of 1831, the regiment marched to Bombay, to take a tour of duty at the Presidency, and occupied its former cantonment at Colaba.

No honorary distinction, that gauge of good service in the eyes of the world, had been conferred on Colonel Willshire after a lengthened career passed in his country's service in the four quarters of the globe, and it was not until 1838 that he was nominated a Companion of the Bath; but the gallant veteran was destined to attain the highest rank in that "Most Honourable Order," and the achievement by which he won the G.C.B. and the hereditary distinction of a baronetcy, will live in history as one of the most brilliant feats of arms performed by the British soldier.

PART II.

The Afghan War, 1838—March from Bominacote to Hyderabad and thence to Candahar and Cabul—Proceeds with the Bombay Division to Khelat—Storm of Khelat—Return to England—Death and Character of Sir Thomas Willshire.

ON the outbreak of the Afghan War in 1838, the Bombay Government was directed to assemble a division to compel the Ameer of Scinde to sign a treaty agreeing to pay Shah Soojah tribute as their suzerain, and for the free navigation of the Indus. The command of this force, which was also to aid, if required, the operations of the "Army of the Indus" in Afghanistan, was assumed by Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, who, with the sanction and approval of his Government, selected General Willshire to command one of the brigades.

On the 5th June, 1829, he had been gazetted Brevet-Colonel, and on 10th January, 1837, was appointed a Brigadier-General on the Indian Establishment. For some time he had been in command of the Poona Brigade, and, while holding this post, attracted the favourable notice of his superiors by the high state of discipline and efficiency to which he had worked up the regiments under his command. Austere and strict, the general, though acknowledged by all under his command to be just and impartial, was a terror to all inefficient or indolent officers, and none such could long escape his vigilant eye. But what he exacted from others—and he demanded to the uttermost the requirements of the Service—he did not scruple to render himself; and thus it happened that, though those hard bargains of the Queen and Company, who intended "to take things easy," quickly discovered that Poona was the wrong station to serve in, and "Tiger Tom" the wrong commander to serve under, yet those officers who took an interest in their profession found in him a friend who rewarded their exertions by his approval and thanks.

The Bombay Division numbered 5,600 men,* and was divided into two brigades of infantry, under Generals Willshire and Gordon; a brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier J. Scott, of the 4th Dragoons; and a brigade of artillery, under Colonel Stevenson. General Willshire's command consisted of his own regiment, the 2nd Queen's, 500 bayonets, and the 1st and 5th Regiments of Bombay Native Infantry. On the 25th of November, 1838, General Willshire arrived at the Hujamree mouth of the Indus, where it had been decided to disembark the troops, on the representations of Colonel Henry Pottinger, Political Agent in Scinde, though the port of Kurrachce was close at hand, and its superior capabilities had been pointed out by Lieutenants Carless, Sharp, and other officers of the Indian Navy familiar with the coast. On the following day Sir John Keane arrived, and also the transports with the 2nd Queen's and 5th Native Infantry, which, with the other troops, were disembarked by means of some thirty or forty country boats called *batilles*, averaging about eighty kandies, or twenty tons. These took the troops from the ships, anchored some two miles from the flat uninteresting coast, up the river to Bominacote, on the right bank of the Indus, about fourteen miles from the anchorage and five miles from Vikkur, where General Willshire formed his camp, to which Sir John Keane repaired on the 3rd of December.

The division halted here until the 24th of December, owing to the want of camels and boats—notwithstanding the unremitting exertions of Captain Outram, aide-de-camp to Sir John Keane, who went to Mandavie and Bhooj to collect transports—a want which was due to the scarcely-disguised hostility of the local Scindian authorities at Kurrachee and of the Ameers of Meerpore (cousin of the Hyderabad chiefs), who had detained 600 camels *en route* from Cutch to join the army. Owing chiefly to Outram's exertions, 2,000 camels were at length obtained, and the division was enabled to march for Tatta, the 2nd Brigade, with Sir John Keane, on the 24th, and General Willshire, with the 1st Brigade, consisting of the 2nd Queen's, 1st and 5th Regiments Native Infantry, on the 26th. Tatta is a place of great antiquity, said to be the Patala of the "Periplus," built by Alexander during his memorable voyage down the Indus, which occupied no less than nine months. The modern

* The troops were: Infantry—2nd Queen's, Colonel Baumgardt; 17th Regiment, Colonel Croker; 1st, 5th, 19th and 23rd Regiments Native Infantry. Cavalry—Wing of 4th Light Dragoons, Major Daly; 1st Bombay Light Cavalry, Colonel Sandwith; Poona Local Horse, and Cutch Auxiliary Horse, two troops of Horse Artillery, and one Horse Field Battery.

town was, at this time, in a wretched state ; but contained a fine building in the Jumna Musjid, or great Mohammedan temple, erected, according to Burnes, either by Shah Jehan or Aurungzebe, though it was in decay, and in its courts "the moping owl doth to the bat complain."

Tatta was reached in four marches, and here the army remained until the 23rd of January, 1839, when it marched *en route* for Hyderabad, the 1st Brigade, under General Willshire, in advance. On the 24th the news arrived that the four Hyderabad Ameers * had rejected the treaty (which included the payment of twenty-eight lacs of rupees, being arrears of tribute due to Shah Soojah), presented to them by Captain Outram and Lieutenant Eastwick, Assistant to the Resident, Colonel H. Pottinger, on the part of the Governor-General ; and the division was excited with the hope of fighting and the prospects of prize-money at Hyderabad, known to be one of the richest cities in India, but which escaped the spoiler on this occasion only to fall into the hands of Sir Charles Napier and his victorious army a few years later. Sir John Keane marched the same day ; and, at two a.m. on the morning of the 25th January, the spies reported that the Beloochees, 10 000 strong, meditated a night attack, upon which General Willshire, who commanded the advanced brigade, turned out his men to give them a warm reception ; but it was a false alarm. The army halted a few days at Jerruk, a small village on the banks of the Indus, about twenty miles from Hyderabad ; and, while here, three officers of the Queen's (Lieutenants Sparke and Nixon and Dr. Hibbert) were burnt to death in a Skikargurh (literally, "game place"), or forest enclosed by the Ameers for the preservation of game, some four or five miles in rear of the camp. On the 1st of February it was announced in the camp that, after all, the four Hyderabad Ameers had "caved in," and there was to be no fighting, with its attendant reward of unlimited loot ; so, the treaty being signed and ratified, the army left Jerruk on the 3rd of February, and encamped on the following day at Kotree, on

* "The original Ameers of Sciudo," writes Dr. James Burnes, in his account of a visit to Hyderabad in 1827-28, "were four chiefs of the Belooch tribe named Talpoor, who established themselves towards the close of the last century as rulers of the country by the expulsion of the dynasty of the Kaloas, who had governed for nearly a century as tributaries to the Mogul Emperors, to Nadir Shah, of Persia, and to Ahmed Shah, founder of the Dooranee dynasty in Afghanistan. The present Hyderabad Ameers were Noor Mahomed and Mahomed Nusseer Khan (sons of Meer Mourad Khan, who died in 1801), and Sobdar Khan and Mahomed Khan (sons respectively of Futteh Ali Khan, the founder of the dynasty, and Gholam Ali Khan). There were also the Ameers Rustum and Mobaruck, residing at Khyrpoor, 200 miles north of Hyderabad, and Shere Mahomed, son of Mourad Ali, at Meerpore, about seventy miles south of the capital."

the western bank of the Indus, opposite to Hyderabad, which is four miles from the main river, and on another branch, called the Fulaila.

On the 10th of February the Bombay Division resumed its march for the rendezvous at Roree, on the Indus, opposite Shikarpore, where the Bengal Division, under Sir Willoughby Cotton, had arrived on the 27th of January. More than two months had elapsed since the Bombay troops landed at the Hujamree, the distance between which and Jerruk was less than eighty miles, or seven marches; and so uninformed were Sir John Keane and the Government of the military strength of the Ameers, that a strong column of the Bengal troops had proceeded to their assistance, and made seven marches from Roree, when, at Kundearree, the receipt of intelligence of the signature of the treaty caused them to retrace their steps. But the division, of which a small portion, under General Willshire, subsequently stormed the strong fortress of Khelat, could easily have dealt with the town and castle of Hyderabad, the garrison of which, according to many officers who visited the city during the halt at Kotree, did not exceed 1,500 or 2,000 men. The army reached Lukkee, about eighty miles from Hyderabad, on the 16th, the marches being mostly fifteen miles, over an arid country, with a hot sun and occasional dust-storms. Here Sir John Keane halted four days to enable the sappers and a working party of 500 men of the 5th Native Infantry to construct a road over the Lukkee Pass for the artillery. On its completion, the guns went over on the 20th, and the troops marched on the following day, under the command of General Willshire, Sir John Keane having gone on to Sehwan, six miles below the pass, to confer with Sir Henry Fane, who was now on his way from Roree to Bombay. The Commander-in-Chief, on the raising of the siege of Herat by the Shah of Persia, had resigned, to the great regret of the army, which placed confidence in him; the command of the now reduced "Army of the Indus" devolved on Sir John Keane, Sir Willoughby temporarily holding charge until the arrival of his senior officer.

General Willshire, with considerable forethought, directed that the sick should remain behind, and follow on the next day to Sehwan, to avoid the detention which must have resulted when all the baggage train and commissariat supplies of the army were struggling through a defile. "The result," writes R. H. Kennedy, Chief of the Medical Staff of the Bombay Division, "showed the wisdom of the order, for had they moved, they must have remained all day in the sun and all night in the pass."

The Bombay Division remained at Sehwan between the 21st and 23rd of February, when it crossed the Arrul river, about 200 feet broad here, by a pontoon bridge, and encamped at Tirooty, situated in the "Garden of Scinde," as the country between Shikarpore and Sehwan is called, which, with its pleasant park-like scenery and numerous populous villages, offered a pleasing change from the sandy plains hitherto traversed. On the 6th of March the army was encamped at Larkhana, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants, belonging to the Ameers of Hyderabad, fifty-two miles from Shikarpore. While here, General Willshire was appointed president of a Court of Inquiry into the charges preferred by Captain Outram against Zadig Shah, the Hyderabad agent for supplies, who was accused of raising the prices of all stores supplied to the army, thus, in fact, levying from the Commissariat, on behalf of the Ameers, repayment of the sum of twenty-eight lacs assessed as tribute due to Shah Soojah. General Willshire came to the conclusion that the charge was amply proved; but the finding of the Court was never publicly announced, as Government winked at the fraud; but though Lord Auckland, with his treasury stored with three millions of money, the savings of his wise and economical predecessor, Lord William Bentinck, could afford to be extravagant in his outlay on this miserable Afghan War, the private soldiers and junior officers of the army were mulcted heavily by this nefarious system, and it was in keeping with the career of that great and honourable soldier-statesman, Sir James Outram, to expose this iniquity, as at a later date he attacked at Baroda the hydra-headed monster, "khutput," or official corruption.

On Sir Henry Fane quitting the Bengal Division at Rorcc, on the 18th of February, the army of the Indus was reorganised, Sir John Keane being placed in chief command, the whole of the cavalry of both Presidencies being under Major-General Thackwell; the artillery under Brigadier Stevenson; the infantry of the Bengal column, denominated the 1st Infantry Division, under Sir Willoughby Cotton; and the infantry of the Bombay column, or 2nd Infantry Division, under General Willshire, with Colonel Baumgardt of the 2nd Queen's as Brigadier. Sir John Keane had been very dilatory in all his movements, and, whereas the whole of the Bengal column, with its baggage, bazaars, and cattle, had crossed the Indus and was at Shikarpore by the 18th of February, the Bombay troops were still at Lukkee, fifteen marches in the rear, and one march on the other side of Sehwan. Shikarpore was ten marches from Dadur, at the entrance to the Bolan Pass, eighteen from Quetta,

and thirty-two from Candahar; and, as it was desirable to push on so as to secure the Bolan Pass before the Candahar Sirdars had occupied it, the Bengal column, with the Shah's contingent, together amounting to 15,500 fighting men, commenced their march on the 23rd of February, taking with them one and a half month's supplies, a similar quantity being left in the depôt at Shikarpore. Sir John Keane, owing to a deficiency of camels, half he brought having been lost, halted at Larkhana from the 3rd to the 12th of March, when he marched due east to cross the desert of Cutch Gundava with his division, now reduced by the diversion of Brigadier Gordon with the 1st, 5th and 23rd Regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, to garrison Bukkur and Sukkur, to some 1,850 Europeans and 1,820 Sepoys. On the third march, General Willshire, who left Larkhana on the preceding day with the 2nd and 17th Regiments, arrived at Shadadpore, the country traversed for the last twenty miles being described as "more like the dry bed of a salt lagoon in an interval betwixt spring tides than an inland district;" and, at five o'clock on the evening of the 14th of March, commenced to cross the waterless desert of Gundava. It was necessary that this arduous march should be made in the night time; but, owing to delay, caused by losing the road, the infantry did not reach their destination at Recchee till two p.m. the next day, having made a march, with two brief halts, of over thirty miles. On the following day, Sir John Keane crossed the Runn, or desert, with the head-quarters staff and cavalry brigade. On the 18th the march was to Jhul, a distance of twenty miles, across another portion of the desert; and, after a day's halt, the column advanced thirteen miles to Punjkoto, and, on the 21st, twelve miles to Gundava, there being a plentiful supply of water during the last two marches. Two days later, Sir John Keane, with his staff and an escort, consisting of a wing of the 1st Bombay Cavalry and a wing of the 19th Bombay Native Infantry, quitted Gundava for head-quarters at Quetta, which he reached on 6th April, though, had he pushed on from Larkhana, he would have arrived on the 27th March, when the Bengal column marched in, thus saving eleven days' supplies, the consumption of which nearly compromised the success of the expedition, and, as it was, necessitated placing the army on half rations. By the departure of Sir John Keane, the command of the Bombay column devolved on General Willshire, who retained it until the end of the war, and added a glorious page to the records of the gallant deeds achieved by the army of the Western Presidency.

On the 31st March General Willshire moved forward to Gurgur, with his column, consisting of two troops of Horse Artillery, Her Majesty's 2nd and 17th Regiments, a wing each of the 4th Light Dragoons, 1st Bombay Light Cavalry, and 19th Native Infantry, the Sappers and Miners, and a Detachment of Poona Horse. The marches were made soon after midnight to avoid the extreme heat of the sun. On the 2nd of April the column made a severe march of twenty-three miles from Shoorun to Sooner, where the cavalry arrived at six a.m., and the infantry two hours and a half later.

Dadur, at the entrance of the Bolan Pass, was reached on the 5th, and, on the 12th, General Willshire commenced his march with the infantry and cavalry, the artillery having preceded him.

The Bengal Division managed to reach Quetta without suffering any molestation, but the Bombay troops were frequently attacked by the mountaineers. General Willshire arrived on the 30th April at Quetta, where he left a company of foot artillery to reinforce the brigade of General Nott, who had been left in command here by Sir John Keane, notwithstanding his urgent remonstrances to be permitted to proceed into Afghanistan. The refusal of the Commander-in-chief to listen to the expostulations of this gallant officer bore hard upon one whose later conduct at Candahar during a momentous crisis showed that he was a true soldier, but it must not be forgotten, in justification of Sir John Keane, that though General Nott was slightly senior to General Willshire, he had seen no active service, while General Willshire had earned a reputation in many campaigns as an experienced and well-tried soldier.

While the army lay at Quetta, Mr. Macnaghten sent Sir Alexander Burnes to Khelat to induce Mehrab Khan to provide for the wants of the force, and to secure the passage of future supplies through the passes. This Mr. Marshman, in his history of India, declares that Mehrab Khan did to the best of his ability, and that it was entirely owing to his active agency that the army was enabled to traverse the passes leading to Candahar, as a word from him would have brought the expedition to a dead-lock. But because he was not strong enough to repress the Beloochee freebooters, and was unable to afford supplies to the British army during its onward march to Cabul, he suffered condign punishment, and fell in defending his capital. On the other hand, though this was the view taken by Mr. Marshman, the able editor and proprietor of *The Friend of India*, it should be stated in justice to the British

authorities, that a great mass of evidence and the entire feeling of the invading army credited Mehrab Khan with secret, if not open hostility, and agreed that his overthrow was as much a necessity of self-preservation as an act of vengeance for his past intrigues and for withholding supplies from the army as it lay at Quetta. However this may be, General Willshire, as a soldier, had his instructions, and his only duty was to obey and not question them.

No time was lost in reinforcing the Bengal Division, as resistance was expected at Candahar, and, on the day following his arrival, General Willshire marched from Quetta through the valley of Pisheen, crossed the Kojuck Pass on the 26th, the guns being dragged across, after two days' hard labour, by the artillerymen and 17th Regiment, and, on the 4th May, arrived at Candahar only four days after the Bengal Division,* having halted but two days since leaving Dadur.

On the 8th May took place the grand ceremonial of the installation of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, in the capital of Western Afghanistan, where the founder of his dynasty, his grandfather, Ahmed Shah Abdali, had first been crowned in 1747. The ceremony was conducted with all the pomp and circumstance that was possible, but as "the people," for whom a suitable space had been allotted, showed the interest they took in the affair by absenting themselves, the most picturesque feature in the display was the army drawn up to do honour to the poor King. As the Shah had specially requested that Sir John Keane "should be near his person," (as His Excellency, who was as assiduous a courtier as the Envoy and Minister himself, expressed it,) and as Sir Willoughby Cotton was sick, the command devolved for the day on General Willshire, who was in his element, manœuvring troops. The Shah expressed his satisfaction, through the Commander-in-Chief, who said he had received "the gracious commands of His Majesty, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, to convey to Major-General Willshire, commanding in the field, to the generals and their officers, and other

* From official statistics the following appear to be the losses in cattle incurred by the Army of the Indus during the campaign:—Bengal Column, public and hired cattle lost from November, 1838, to December, 1839. Government camels, died 6,153, abandoned, strayed, and stolen 2,864; bhagree, or gun camels, 44; hired camels 10,983; total loss 20,000. Cavalry and Artillery horses 1,146, bullocks 521; total value of above cattle 140,518*l*. In addition, the officers and men lost:—1,585 camels died, and 465 stolen. Also 40 horses, 178 ponies, and 83 bullocks. The Bombay Column lost 6,700 Government camels died and stolen, and the officers and men 533 camels died, 132 stolen, also 9 horses, 86 ponies, and 19 bullocks. This is exclusive of the losses of the 1st Cavalry and Poona Horse, of which there are no returns. In both columns the total loss of animals was 32,483 camels and horses, valued at 229,000*l*.

non-commissioned officers and soldiers who were present and assisted at the splendid spectacle of the King taking possession of his throne this day, the deep sense His Majesty entertains of the obligations he owes to them, and to the British nation."

The army marched in three columns from Candahar, where a sufficient garrison, under Brigadier Baumgardt, of the 2nd Queen's, was left—the first column, under the Commander-in-Chief, on the 27th June, the second under Brigadier Roberts on the 29th, and the third, or Bombay column, numbering about 2,500 men,* left its encampment for Cabul on Sunday the 30th June. The march was uneventful, and on nearing Ghuznee, General Willshire joined Sir John Keane. During the evening two soldiers of the 2nd Queen's were missed from camp, and nothing was ascertained of their fate until the 30th September in the following year, when, as the Bombay column was on its return march to India, two skeletons were accidentally found, having still clinging to them tattered fragments of uniform, showing marks of violence. Strange to say, a wild pigeon had built her nest and laid her eggs in the cavity of one of these grisly memorials of humanity, which were collected and interred by their comrades. "Cæsar's dust," says Hamlet, "might stop a hole to keep the wind away," but surely a stranger use was never found for the bones of one of Her Majesty's gallant soldiers than that a bird of the desert should domicile her young in the breast wherein once beat a gallant heart.

Three days later the combined force captured Ghuznee by storm. The Bombay column had its full share of the glories of the day, for the two British regiments of General Willshire's division, the 2nd and 17th Regiments, divided, with their comrades of the 13th and 1st Europeans (now 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers), the honours of the assault; the first to enter the enemy's works being the light company of the Queen's, which regiment suffered severely, losing thirty-seven killed and wounded, including six officers out of eighteen engaged.

On the 30th of July, Sir John Keane marched towards Cabul with the Bengal column, accompanied by Sir Alexander Burnes, and, on the following day, General Willshire moved, escorting Shah Soojah, with whom was Mr. W. Macnaghten, the ill-fated Envoy and Minister to the equally unfortunate monarch, who

* The force under General Willshire now only consisted of the 2nd Queen's under Major Carruthers; 17th Regiment, under Colonel Croker; 18th Bombay Native Infantry, under Major Western; Poona Irregular Horse, under Major Cunningham; Captain Lloyd's battery of Bombay Foot Artillery, and Sappers and Miners, under Lieutenant Wemyss. The two troops of Bombay Horse Artillery, under Captains Martin and Cotgrave, accompanied the Bengal Division.

was destined to exemplify the truth of the axiom enunciated about the same time by two writers of far different capacities and positions in life. The Emperor Bâber says in his Memoirs :—"In wisdom's eye, every condition can find repose but royalty alone." And Shakespeare puts into the mouth of another King, whose fate resembled that of the ill-starred Shah Soojah, our Richard II., the gloomy anticipation of his approaching end :—

"Within the hollow crown
That round the mortal temple of a king,
Keeps Death his Court; and there the Antic sits,
Scolling his state and grinning at his pomp."

On the 3rd of August the Commander-in-Chief halted for General Willshire's column to join him, but Dost Mahomed could not induce his army to make a stand; so hastily abandoning his guns at Urghundee, about eighteen miles from Cabul, he fled towards Bameean. The indefatigable Outram went in pursuit with a body of 225 cavalry and about 550 Afghan horsemen, led by one Hajee Khan, chief of the Khaiker tribe, near Candahar, who, however, played the traitor towards the British, as he had before done towards his Afghan master, and, by various delays, secured the retreat of the Dost beyond the Hindoo Koosh.

The army continued its march, and, on the 5th of August, entered the narrow valley of Urghundee, across which were found drawn up Dost Mahomed's twenty-five deserted guns. On the following day, camp was pitched three miles west of Cabul, and the long and arduous march of the two divisions was completed, that of the Bengal column, from the 8th of November, 1838, being 132 marches, or 1,527 miles from Kurnaul, including 145 miles in Scinde; and that of the Bombay column, 476 miles from Bominacote to Dadur, and 551 from Dadur to Cabul.

On the 7th of August, the day after the arrival of the army before his capital, Shah Soojah, amidst the boom of artillery, and surrounded by the Political officers, the Commander-in-Chief, and the other Generals with their staffs, was conducted in great state to his palace in the Bala Hissar, the second time he had entered Cabul in triumph, the first occasion being the 13th of July, 1803, when he routed the forces of the great Barukzye Sirdar, Futteh Khan, and dispossessed his brother, Shah Mahmood, of the throne,* only again to be ousted by him

* See Mountstuart Elphinstone's *History of Cabul*. It should be noted in justice to Shah Soojah, that on this occasion he spared the eyes of his brother,

after the defeat at Neemlah, near, Gundamuck, in June, 1809. On the 9th and 10th of August the army changed ground, the head-quarters, with the Bombay Division, and all the artillery and cavalry, to a plain six miles west of the city, and the Bengal Division to a point midway between them. On the 13th, Sir John Keane and General Willshire, with their respective staffs, moved to within two miles of the city, to a ruined and long-neglected garden adjoining the tomb of the Sultan Baber,* General Willshire's tent being pitched in a fine avenue of tall poplars. On the 22nd a move was again made to fresh ground, about two miles east of Cabul, the 2nd Division of infantry encamping half-way between the city and head-quarters.

No noteworthy event occurred while the army remained before Cabul. On the 7th of September a grand review was held before Shah Soojah, who was accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief and the Political officers, General Willshire being in command of the troops, which consisted of Her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons and 16th Lancers, 1st Bombay Cavalry, two troops of Horse Artillery, and Her Majesty's 2nd and 17th Regiments. The King was received by a royal salute on coming to and leaving the ground, the colours being lowered in presenting arms. Several movements were performed, one being noted by Major Hough, the military historian, as having "a pretty effect;" guns having been thrown out, were supposed to be attacked by the enemy, the artillerymen retired into the squares of infantry, and the enemy being driven off, the gunners returned to serve the guns and play on the retiring enemy. These duties were varied by the amusement Englishmen chiefly relish, horse-racing. The Bombay column being under orders to return to India, the Shah held a grand investiture of his newly instituted "Order of the Dooranee Empire," having three classes, the same as the Bath,

though Mahmood had deprived his brother, Shah Zemaun, of his eyes, this King having before put out the eyes of his elder brother Humayoon, who was the legal heir of Timour Shah, son of Ahmed Shah, founder of the dynasty. As Elphinstone says (p. 393) referring to Mahmood's dispossessing him of the throne in 1809:—"But Shah Soojah has, unfortunately, had sufficient reason to regret this clemency, of which he probably afforded the first example in his country." According to Mohammedan law a blind sovereign is not a king *de jure*, and hence the frequency of this crime.

* Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty (born in 1482, on the shores of the Caspian, and died at Agra in 1530), was, at his own request, buried at Cabul, where a simple marble grave marks the spot where lies the conqueror of the vast countries from the Caspian to the banks of the Ganges. His memoirs are well known. At Ghuznee is the tomb of an even more remarkable man, the dreaded and ferocious Mahmood, who invaded India in the eleventh century, and laid under contribution some of its richest cities and shrines.

the first of which was only conferred on Lord Auckland, Sir John Keane, Sir W. Cotton, Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Macnaghten, Sir A. Burnes, and Colonel (afterwards Sir) Claude Wade, who had brought the Shahzada from Loodiana, on the 3rd of September, after forcing the Khyber Pass with some Sikh and Afghan levies. General Willshire, with Generals Thackwell and Simpson, Brigadiers Sale, Roberts, Baumgardt, Scott, and Stevenson, the heads of departments, the Engineer officers, Captains Thomson and Peat, and Captain Outram received the second class; the third class was conferred on a large number of officers, including the commanding officers of regiments, and some political assistants of the Envoy; but Colonel Dennie, who led the advance of the storming column at Ghuznee, and was already decorated with the C.B., refused the Order. At a future period other officers were advanced to the "Dooranee Empire," but few of those who received the decoration ever cared to wear it, and the Order, which was the whim of the Envoy and Minister, was as short-lived as the ill-fated founder, and now is only of value to collectors of medals.* The grateful Prince also expressed his intention, subject to the permission of the Queen, to confer a gold medal on all officers, and a silver medal on all soldiers engaged at the capture of Ghuznee. Shah Soojah was always gracious and affable to our officers, as well he might be, seeing that he owed his throne to British soldiers, and the frail fabric of his sovereignty was supported and hedged round by the points of their bayonets. Had he been equally urbane to the Sirdars of his own nation, whom he made a practice of treating with hauteur, it is not improbable that a strong party, disgusted with the rapacity and exactions of some of the Barukzye Princes, would have rallied round his throne in the hour of trial.

During General Willshire's brief stay of a few weeks before Cabul, the army lost two of its most popular and distinguished members. One was Brigadier Arnold, of the 16th Lancers, commanding the Bengal Cavalry Brigade, who had been shot through the lungs at Waterloo,† where he served in the 10th

* The decoration of the Dooranee Order is in shape a Maltese Cross, with a ribbon heralddically described as "party per pale vert and gules." It is said that the first intention was to call the Order, the "Dowree Dooranee," but the keen shaft of ridicule altered this design, for some wag in the camp declared that the letters D.D. would mean the "Dog and Duck," and so the magniloquent designation of "Dooranee Empire" was adopted. Truly there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.

† Besides Brigadier Arnold there were one or two officers who had served at Waterloo in the Army of Afghanistan. General (afterwards Sir Joseph) Thackwell, who commanded the cavalry division, lost an arm at that historic field, and a third

Hussars, under the gallant and accomplished Major Howard whose death is commemorated in immortal verse by his relative, Lord Byron :—

“ Where shower'd
The death-bolts deadliest the thinn'd files along,
Even where the thickest of war's tempest lower'd,
They reach'd no nobler breast than thine, young,
Gallant Howard.”

The other officer of distinction referred to was Colonel Herring, C.B., of the 37th Native Infantry, who was murdered by a party of the Kujuck tribe, four marches from Cabul, whither he was escorting some treasure from Candahar. Both these greatly regretted members of the army of the Indus were interred in the Armenian burial-ground, with all the pomp of a military funeral.

On the day following the investiture, Wednesday, the 18th of September, 1839, General Willshire, in command of the Bombay column, set his back on Cabul with no small satisfaction, as every officer and man hated the country and despised the inhabitants, who had exhibited the treacherous side of their character in numerous murders, but not the better phase which they later showed as a race who were not deficient in martial qualities. The Bombay Division reached Ghuznee on the 26th of September, and after a halt of two days, struck off by the direct road on Quetta; leaving Candahar to the right, the line of march took them across the Toba mountains by an altogether new and untraversed route, and the task before General Willshire was one involving great anxiety and no little risk. The objects sought to be obtained in proceeding by this route, were to save a distance of about eighty-five miles, to avoid the Candahar route, where all the forage had been totally consumed, and to afford assistance, if necessary, to Captain Outram, who had preceded the column to punish the murderers of Colonel Herring, C.B., and reduce some of the refractory Ghilzye chiefs.

Waterloo officer soon afterwards arrived in Afghanistan, whose name is associated with all that is melancholy and disastrous in that war, and yet he was personally as gallant as either of the others. As senior surviving officer of his regiment on the glorious 18th of June, Captain (afterwards General) Elphinstone brought it out of action. A cowardly attempt was made after his death to cast doubt on his courage, but the accusation was confuted in the columns of the United Service Magazine by a brother officer who had served with him at Waterloo. Vincent Eyre and all his comrades in captivity in Akbar Khan's hands, bore testimony to the unshaken equanimity of the unfortunate officer during the period he lingered on in captivity, broken in health, and conscious of the disgrace and disaster he had brought on his country.

General Willshire detached the Poona Auxiliary Horse, under Captain Keith Erskine, and a wing of the 19th Bombay Native Infantry, to reinforce Captain Outram, whom they joined on the 3rd of October, and on the night of the 8th, that energetic officer joined the general at Hyderkhal, escorted by two Ghilzye followers, to report his proceedings. General Willshire told off a force, consisting of a wing of Her Majesty's 2nd Queen's, Captain Lloyd's battery, the Poona Auxiliary Horse, and a squadron of the 1st Light Cavalry, to remain temporarily under Captain Outram's orders, while he continued his march, but their presence being no longer required, they rejoined General Willshire at his camp at Khan Teerkee, whither Captain Outram rode in the evening, after having directed Major McLaren to return to Ghuznee with the 16th Bengal Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Dawes to Cabul with his two guns and the Afghan Horse.

On the 12th, the march* was continued to Kistui, twelve miles, and, on the following day, they crossed the Goodan Pass. General Willshire despatched a column on the 17th, under Colonel Stalker, who was accompanied by Captain Outram, to punish the Barukzye tribe of Maroof, who had plundered an Hindustanee kafilah from Candahar in the preceding May. Captain Outram galloped on with the cavalry and surprised the chiefs and all their followers; on the 18th, he destroyed the fort, and, on the following day, made a march of twenty miles across the Toba mountains and rejoined General Willshire (who had made two marches in advance) at his camp at Sir-i-Soorkab. The general crossed the Toba range on the 18th, the thermometer in the tents showing twelve degrees of frost, which caused great destruction to the native camp-followers, and also to the camels, of whom 1,500 died. The army sustained a great loss in the death of a popular officer, Major Keith, Deputy-Adjutant General, and Chief of the Staff of the Bombay Division, who died, says Captain Wyllie,† Assistant

* On October 7th the column passed close by the salt lake mentioned by the Sultan Baber, called Anbistada, one of those inland basins, with rivers having no outlets to the sea, similar to the Helmund in Western Afghanistan, which are found in Central Asia. Outram estimates the diameter of this lake at "about twelve miles," and says, "that on the banks of the Ghuznee river which flows into it, thousands of dead fish were strewn." The lake, which is 7,050 feet above the level of the sea, and lies about sixty-five miles south-west of Ghuznee, is about seventy-five miles long by fifteen broad. Mahmood of Ghuznee formed the Ghuznee river which feeds this lake, by damming up two of the three rivulets which are its sources. The dam or bund is a wall of masonry closing up a rocky valley, and was 300 yards long and from twenty to thirty feet high.

† Now General Sir William Wyllie, G.C.B., a distinguished officer who has seen much service in Guzerat, Afghanistan, Scinde, and the Southern Concan.

Adjutant-General of the column, of laryngitis, after twenty-four hours' illness, and was buried under his tent, which was struck after the interment.

On the 25th the division arrived at Toba, the principal place of this district, a miserable village of less than one hundred houses; near this town was one of the forts of the traitor Hajee Khan Khauger, which fired upon the foragers, upon which General Willshire despatched Captain Outram, with two companies of Europeans and two guns, to reduce the fort; but on arriving before the place it was found to have been abandoned by the garrison. The march of the 26th was to Shah Gullee, thirteen miles; of the 27th, to Badshara, nine miles; and of the 28th to Soorkaub, eighteen miles; about midway in this march the column emerged from the ranges of hills, over which they had been threading their way during the past fortnight. At the gorge of the pass was a strong fort of Hajee Khan Khauger's, which General Willshire directed Outram to destroy, and that officer having completed the task, "by blowing up every bastion, gateway, and outwork," a step which was hailed with joy by the inhabitants of the valley, made a forced march, and overtook the general at Koochlak. On the 31st, a final march of eleven miles brought the division to Quetta, where they found rest, and an abundant supply of provisions laid in by the Political Agent, Captain Bean.

Considering all they had gone through, the column was in a healthy condition, the sick numbering only 121 Europeans, out of a strength of 1,642, and ninety natives of a total of 1,347. No one of the force had such cause for gratulation at the termination of this most arduous and hazardous march, of which no account is given in Kaye's *History of the Afghan War*, than the general commanding the division, who, at one period, suffered much mental anxiety regarding its practicability, owing to the nature of the country traversed, and the absence of supplies. The difficulties of the route were immense, and a more rugged and desolate region than the army traversed between the 12th and 28th, it would be impossible to imagine. Outram writes on the 23rd:—"The road for the last three days has been through a succession of mountains, which, from their fantastic figures, might be likened to the ocean petrified during a storm." Kennedy says:—"Range after range of the rudest mountains were to be ascended and descended, and the only road was the pebbly or rocky bed of some mountain torrent traced up to its source, and a similar descent on the opposite side. The Engineer corps was every day in advance, to render all the

assistance in its power, and it was rightly observed by Major Peat, the chief of that department, that it only required the difficulties to be the fraction of a fraction worse, for the country to be impassible." Sir William Wyllie writes to us:—"The manner in which General Willshire conducted the Bombay column by the direct route from Ghuznee to Quetta, above the Bolau Pass, reflects the highest credit upon him. The route is almost impracticable, it had never been traversed by any European force before, the almost invisible pathway leading over barren mountainous regions, and along the beds of mountain torrents, so difficult of threading, that the guns had repeatedly to be taken to pieces and manual labour had recourse to. Yet all arrived in safety at Quetta." He recounts how General Willshire was in the habit, when the column halted, and his staff either rested or talked over the incidents of the day in the head-quarters tent, of lying down on the ground in the corner wrapped in his military cloak. Alluding to this habit in after years, the general said once to his Assistant Adjutant-General, "Wyllie, you will remember that terrible march of ours from Ghuznee to Quetta, when you all imagined I was sleeping so soundly; well, I was awake, and considered it such a serious undertaking that I would have given 20,000 rupees if I could have made sure of getting out of the country with you all;" but, he added solemnly, "the Almighty was with us, or we never should have left it."

The time had now come when General Willshire was to undertake a military operation which set the seal upon his capacity as a commander. Hitherto, at Ghuznee, he had occupied a subordinate post, while during the march just concluded he had no opportunity of displaying his military capacity. True, he had long had the reputation, among those who knew him best, of an officer who only wanted an opportunity to display other talents than those of a mere sergeant-major; and indeed at Grahamstown, the only occasion on which he had exercised independent command, he had displayed the ready resource, presence of mind, and skill in the disposition of his troops, which are among the chief attributes of a general, but he was now to exercise these qualities on a grander sphere and in a more marked degree.

Mehraub Khan, ruler of Khelat, throughout the period embraced in the Afghan expedition, had displayed an hostility towards the British which was at variance with his protestations of submission to Shah Soojah and loyalty to his potent protectors. Confident in the strength of his fortress and the loyalty of his

followers, and gifted with high courage, he yet did not dare openly to defy the power that had occupied Candahar and Cabul, and stormed the hitherto impregnable fortress of Ghuznee; but he encouraged his adherents, it was said, in plundering the camp-followers* of the Army of the Indus, and refused satisfaction. General Willshire, when leaving Cabul, received joint instructions from Sir John Keane and Mr. Macnaghten, dated the 17th of September, and having arranged with Captain Bean the best means of giving effect to these orders, a letter was written to the Khan offering him terms and informing him of the intention to send troops to his capital. Mehraub addressed four letters to General Willshire, couched in the flowery language of the East.

We give a translation of one of them, hitherto, we believe, unpublished:—"The praises of your Excellency have been heard by your humble servant the bowing-place of Sultans'; your favours have been bountifully bestowed upon me, may the house of friendship be prosperous! By the grace of God your Excellency's favours will not be thrown away on me. I write to tell you that I have prepared a man with a verbal message to you who when he reaches you will explain my designs. If, Sir, by way of kindness and friendship you will accomplish the affairs of your humble servant, I shall consider it as a great kindness. If you should depart from Shawl before my messenger arrives, he will send a courier with the letters and papers. Through your kindness I trust your humble servant's affairs will be entirely accomplished. It is well known that I, the friend and well-wisher of your Excellency and the Honourable Company, will never break allegiance with you. Their Excellencies Ben Sahib and Lubwen† Sahib Bahadoor have given over the countries which were under my dominion into the hands of my enemies, and have themselves taken possession

* Lord Auckland, in his General Order of December, 1839, expressing thanks for the successful result of the expedition to Khelat, gives the following reason for directing the punishment of Mehraub Khan:—"The many outrages and murders committed in attacks on the followers of the Army of the Indus, by the plundering tribes in the neighbourhood of the Bolan Pass, at the instigation of their Chief, Meef Merab, Khan of Khelat, at a time when he was professing friendship for the British Government, and negotiating a treaty with its representatives, having compelled the Government to direct a detachment of the army to proceed to Khelat for the exaction of retribution from that chieftain, and for the execution of such arrangements as would establish future security in that quarter, a force under the orders of Major-General Willshire, C.B., was employed on this service." Sir Alexander Burnes had negotiated a treaty with the Khan in which he acknowledged fealty to Shah Soojah. This treaty was renewed by his successor with Captain Ontram in 1841.

† Probably Bean and Loveday, political agents.

of the mountains. Your humble servant, through respect to your Honourable Government, still abstains from war, but the aforesaid gentlemen have been making warlike preparations. Your humble servant, through respect to the Government, has no intention to fight with these gentlemen, but if they persevere in taking away my character, I, and all my friends and relations, having become desperate, will fight till we fall. God's will be done! I will send my brothers to convey the intelligence of the sincerity and friendship I bear towards you, also of the enmity of these gentlemen. If you will report to the Government all these circumstances of the esteem and friendship I bear towards it, and also the enmity of the aforesaid gentlemen, I shall feel greatly obliged." In a second letter he says that he is about to send an Envoy to make the necessary explanations. In a third letter, after the usual introduction of compliments, he continues: "I have sent Mullah Rumsan for the sake of relating the circumstances and the subject of the message. Wishing for friendship, may it please God that he may speedily arrive; therefore I hope that when he reaches you he may explain the whole, and that you will believe what he says. Great injustice is done us, they are uselessly exciting disturbances. God forbid I should say what is wrong. I am resolute and determined in everything. I have sent him to report my friendship and sincerity to your Excellency, that you may endeavour to remain the same. May this be the consolation of my heart, that you will never think ill of my country or of me. I hope that you still continue writing news of your good health in letters full of kindness. May your prosperity be lasting. May this letter reach his Excellency the General Sahib, the upholder of dignity and majesty, full of kindness and friendship." Again he writes:—"Exalted Sir, friend of authority and dignity, General Sahib Bahadoor, I have just received your kind letter. Ben Sahib Bahadoor and Lubwan Sahib of high rank, have sent Mahomed Hussan Khan to me. After his arrival I employed myself in settling that affair. Wullee, from fear of the army, kept himself in the mountains, I also from the same reason remained quietly in the mountains till Meer Shunwar Khan's arrival. I shall be very anxious till I hear news from him. Afterwards I shall go to Khelat to pay my respects to you. All the people have fled. I anticipate much pleasure in paying you a visit, but Wullee does not wish to do so until he receives encouragement from your words. Pass quietly through those places, your humble servant will do all in his power to serve you, go without care as if you were in your own

house. The people fired because the assistant of Mahomed Hussein is prisoner here, and we also are unhappy. I will most willingly pay my respects to you. Travel without fear. Burnes Sahib has written to me also to stop the robbers, for which reason do not fear. I received your letter yesterday evening, and immediately on its arrival prepared a man to send to you. Whatever they can get on the road until Kundwar is with you, they will supply you with. Every one in the country has run away. I could not come to pay you a visit, because I was far off. I shall go to see Ben Sahib and Lubwen Sahib Bahadoor, and Meer Shunwar Khan. I am waiting for your answer. Consider me always your most obedient humble servant."

In consequence of the want of carriage and the limited amount of Commissariat supplies at Quetta, as well as the reported want of forage on the route to Khelat, General Willshire was only able to despatch to that town a small portion of his force, the bulk of which he sent through the Bolan Pass to Gundava. Indeed, as owing to the report of the Political officer, that Mehraub had neither the intention nor the means of resistance, there was no necessity for the employment of a considerable force, he decided at first only to send the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, but as it was understood that Mehraub Khan would only capitulate to an European regiment, the 17th was added; finally a second European regiment, the Queen's, and some artillery were placed under orders. The force as thus constituted included Her Majesty's 2nd Queen's, Major Carruthers; Her Majesty's 17th Regiment, Colonel Croker; the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, Major Western; a detachment of Bombay Engineers, Captain Peat; two guns, Bombay Horse Artillery, Lieutenant Foster; four guns, Shah's Horse Artillery, Lieutenant Creed; and two rissalahs, 4th Bengal Local Horse. No resistance being anticipated, General Willshire placed the force under the command of Brigadier Baumgardt, of the 2nd Queen's, but at the last moment he changed his decision, and resolved to take personal command of the troops, and it was fortunate that he did so, or a serious disaster might have resulted; for without making any reflection upon Brigadier Baumgardt, we may observe that the force had no confidence in his generalship, and the success that was achieved was owing in a large measure to the masterly arrangements of the subject of this Memoir. Colonel Robinson, of the Queen's, speaking of the confidence he inspired in all those under his command, says: "This was particularly to be observed when he joined the force he had two days previously sent from Quetta to Khelat, the defiant letters

of Mehraub Khan having induced Sir Thomas to think it as well he should conduct in person the operations against the latter place. Colonel Croker, commanding the 17th Regiment, part of the force, came up to me on his arrival in the camp and said: 'This is the best thing the old man has ever done.' In fact, all appeared on this, and on every occasion, to be aware of the excellence of Sir Thomas Willshire as a soldier and commander."

Captain Wyllie relates the cause of this sudden change in General Willshire's determination, a change which affected his future career, and led to his achieving the deed of arms which gained him hereditary honours and the highest military distinctions. As the Khelat column marched out of camp at Quetta, on the 3rd of November, and passed the General's tent, he called out to Wyllie, who was in the rear, "God bless you," but Wyllie's astonishment was shared by the rest of the column when, on the second day after the troops had reached their encamping ground, the General rode into camp with his head-quarter staff. It appears that Captain Outram, whose instinct was more to be relied upon than the "information" of the political officers, came to General Willshire's tent on the morning of his departure, and said that he had intelligence from a source on which he could rely, that Mehraub Khan had gathered together his warriors and intended to fight. Willshire dismissed him impatiently, but he considered well, and quickly came to the resolve to join the column and lead the attack on Khelat in person. "Robinson," said he to his aide-de-camp, just as he was mounting his horse, preparatory to starting for the Bolan Pass, "I am going to Khelat!"

Brigadier Scott, of the 4th Dragoons, was now directed to take the troops to Dadur, and, accompanied by Brigadier Stevenson and his staff, the general started off on the 4th of November to overtake the column on the march to Khelat, and rode into their camp on the 5th. The column continued its march on Khelat, halting for one day at Moostoong, and contrary to all reports and expectations, says Outram, "the road was excellent, and the water and forage so abundant that the whole of the division might have marched without the slightest difficulty." While on the line of march, an incident occurred which is characteristic of General Willshire's promptitude in punishing a breach of discipline. One of the camp-followers was brought before him on the charge of plundering, and sentenced to receive two dozen lashes. The culprit on hearing this, loudly expostulated. "What does the fellow say?" asked

the General, turning towards his staff. "He says," replied one of the officers, "that being a 'Seyud' (a descendant of the Prophet) and a holy man, he is not amenable to corporal punishment." "Tell him," was the answer, "that this only aggravates the offence, as he ought to have known better, and that he shall have four dozen lashes instead of two," which were accordingly administered on the spot.

On the 11th, when only two marches from Khelat, a letter, breathing a tone of defiance, was received from Mehraub Khan, demanding the immediate halt of the British General, pending negotiations, and warning him that he intended to resist an advance at the next stage. General Willshire now moved in order of battle, but upon Outram making a reconnaissance, it was found that the Khan was not as good as his word, though all advices denoted that he intended to defend Khelat, where he had collected his followers, and had been joined by many other Belooch chiefs, including Wullee Mahomed Khan, ruler of Wudd, which lies on the road to Soonmeance. On the 13th November a short march of six miles, during which there was some desultory skirmishing, brought the column before Khelat, and the sight, as the capital of Mehraub burst upon the view, was an inspiring one. The neighbouring heights were crowded with soldiers, while numbers assembled on the citadel to gaze at the British army, of whose prowess they had heard so much, but as yet knew so little. General Willshire, as he looked long and earnestly on the scene, could have wished that he had brought with him more of his soldiers, but his reliance in the small but gallant band was unlimited, while they, on their part, reposing confidence in the capacity and military experience of their leader, burned with ardour to undertake the task. Outram, that *preux chevalier*, ever "to the fore" when fighting was on the *tapis*, whose eager, combatant, expectant nature had much in common with the austere reticent soldier of Salamanca and St. Sebastian—Outram writes of Willshire at this supreme point of his destiny: "The cool and determined demeanour of our veteran General inspired every one present with confidence of success; nor shall I ever forget the glorious feeling of delight with which his deep-toned word of command, 'Loosen cartridges,' was received by the soldiers, evincing, as it did, that an immediate attack was intended, and that serious opposition might be expected."

General Willshire made a rapid reconnaissance and soon formed his plan of attack, which he communicated to his staff and commanding officers. The three breastworks on the

heights, armed with three guns, were first to be carried by four companies from each regiment, under cover of the guns, led by Brigadier Baumgardt; two companies under Major Pennycuik were to advance through the gardens on the left; two more to take post in the plain between them; the remainder of the three regiments formed in three columns being in reserve.

The three regiments, covered by the guns, advanced in quarter distance column of companies to attack the breastworks, but the enemy abandoned the heights, when the troops rushed down the hill in pursuit towards the town, which, however, they were unable to enter with the fugitives, who closed the gate, abandoning a gun outside. The companies on the left also advanced towards the gate, and the heights being in possession of the troops, the guns were placed in position and opened fire, two on the gate, and four on the towers commanding it. Meantime the grenadier company of the Queen's had taken post under cover of a ruined building within sixty yards of the gate, and also the light companies of the regiments, under shelter of a mud wall within thirty yards of the gate, on the opposite side. The troops, while taking up these positions, had to cross the open and suffer considerably by a musketry fire from the walls, but Outram, though the only mounted officer who accompanied them, escaped scatheless. Meanwhile a few rounds from the two guns, admirably directed by Lieutenant Creed, soon brought the gate down, when General Willshire rode down the hill, pointing to it, to announce that the storming party was to advance. The soldiers quickly rushed through the gate, the light companies, as nearest, being the first to effect an entrance. The remainder of the storming column, led by the Brigadier, followed under a heavy fire from the walls and the enemy fled towards the citadel.

Lieutenant Holdsworth, of the Queen's, in a private letter, describes the scene when the guns brought the gate down: "Our men gave a general hurrah; and Outram galloping down the hill at full speed, gave the word 'Forward!' and General Willshire came up to us at his best pace, waving his hat, 'Forward, Queen's!' he sung out, 'or the 17th will be in before you.' On we rushed again for the gate as hard as we could; the enemy treated us to one more volley, and then abandoning the lower defences of the town, retreated to the citadel. However, on entering the gate, we found matters not so easy as we expected. The streets were very narrow, and so intricate

that they formed a perfect labyrinth, and it was difficult to make any progress through them."

General Willshire now directed the three reserve columns to be brought near the gate, and detached Captain Outram, with Captain Darboy's company of the 17th, to the western side of the fort, after which he was directed to take the 31st Regiment, for the purpose of storming the heights on the opposite, or southern side of the fort. This effected, the united detachments descended rapidly to the gate of the fort below and forced it open before the garrison had time to secure it. To co-operate with them the General detached, by the eastern face, two companies from the reserve of the 17th, under Major Deshon; and two guns of the Shah's artillery, under Lieutenant Creed, to blow in the southern gate if necessary. On their arrival Captain Outram directed the officers to leave a detachment in charge of the gate, and with the remainder, to advance upon the citadel, upon which Creed, having taken up a position with his guns, opened a heavy fire. Meantime the troops on the side of the main attack were forcing their way up towards the citadel, through a series of bye-lanes and dark passages, the enemy keeping up a fire from detached buildings as well as from the keep. At length the soldiers forced their way into the citadel from various points, and, after a brief and sanguinary struggle, Mehraub Khan, who, upon finding that escape was impossible, refused quarter, was slain, with Wullee Mahomed of Wudd and many of his chiefs.

Lieutenant Holdsworth describes the last scene in the life of the Khan of Khelat, who fulfilled his promise to General Willshire, and fell sword in hand, battling for his crown like another Richard. "One party reached the place where Mehraub Khan, at the head of the chiefs who had joined his standard, was sitting with his sword drawn. The others seemed inclined to surrender themselves, and raised the cry of 'Amān!' but the Khan, springing on his feet, cried, 'Amān nag!' and blew his match; but all in vain, as he immediately received about three shots, which completely did his business, the one that gave him the *coup de grace*, and which went through his breast, being fired by a man of our regiment, named Maxwell."

It was reported to General Willshire that Mehraub Khan had escaped, but all doubt was soon set at rest by Captain Wyllie bringing down, on a charpoy (bedstead,) the dead chieftain, who was laid at the feet of the conqueror. Tyrannical to his subjects and treacherous to us, it may be said of Mehraub Khan that "nothing in life became him like the leaving of it," and we

cannot deny him the respect due to a brave enemy. The fighting was continued after his death, until, at length, the few survivors, including the Wuzeer, Mahomed Hoossein, were driven to the very crest of the citadel, when quarter was offered to them; but they only consented to surrender if the General and Political Agent gave them a written guarantee that their lives would be spared. This was obtained, and then the British flag was hoisted on the citadel of Khelat, amid a loud hurrah from the gallant fellows who had planted it there. Our loss was heavy, and, of 1,200* men engaged, thirty-one, including an officer (Lieutenant Gravatt of the Queen's), were killed, and 107 were wounded, of the latter eight being officers, five of them belonging to the Queen's, and all but one severely wounded. The loss of the enemy, who mustered 2,000 fighting men, was, according to Outram, 400, including several Chiefs and Sirdars, and several hundred were taken prisoners, among them being the Wuzeer and the ex-Naib of Shawl.

The capture of Khelat was assuredly one of the most gallant feats performed by our army in India, and competent critics rank it higher than the storm of Ghuznee, inasmuch as the force engaged was far smaller, and while one was effected by a *coup de main* in the dark, the other was carried by dint of good generalship and hard fighting in open daylight. "The defences of the fort," writes General Willshire in his despatch, "far exceeded in strength what I had been led to suppose from previous report, and the towering height of the inner citadel was most formidable, both in appearance and reality."

The capture of Khelat had a wide spread influence, and the dispersion of the robbers who, under the Khan's agis, had kept in terror the neighbouring country, was the cause of rejoicing to the peaceable inhabitants of Scinde as well as of Beloochistan. Dr. Kennedy,† the chief medical officer of the Bombay

* According to the returns the following was the strength of the force engaged before Khelat:—Staff officers, fourteen; detachment, 3rd troop Bombay Horse Artillery, two officers and thirty-eight men; one troop Shah's Artillery, one officer and sixty-eight men; the 2nd Queen's, thirteen officers and 331 men; 17th Regiment, twenty-four officers and 374 men; 31st Bengal Native Infantry, eleven officers and 373 men.

† This officer, in his work on the Afghan War, draws a comparison between the storm of Ghuznee and Khelat, and enlarges on the good effect produced by General Willshire showing his confidence in the Native troops by employing them on this occasion:—"A brilliant achievement was performed, and General Willshire had no interposition of good fortune to thank for it. His own clear head designed, and his brave troops, following his noble example of personal exposure and contempt of danger, subdued all obstacles. No native ever spoke of the storming of Khelat but with unbounded admiration. Of Ghuznee they thought little; even those who did not charge the garrison with treachery attributed the whole success

Division of the Army of the Indus, who had proceeded on to Dadur with the remainder of the force, writes of the effect produced by the news of this success: "At the period that the report of the fall of Khelat reached Scinde, the mountaineer Beloochees, whose rugged fastnesses skirt the dependencies of Shikarpore, were in arms, and Major Billamore, with the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, a detachment of artillery, and a strong corps of irregular horse, was employed against them. The whole country was agitated by anxiety and alarm of what might befall at Khelat, and in fear of the ruffians that Mehraub Khan's mandate might let loose on the country. The result of the destruction of his power and the termination of his influence was the dissipation of these alarms, and the dispersion of the gangs who had been encouraged to assemble by his letters and emissaries, and were held together only in reliance upon the confusion he might create; a more rapid change from commotion to quiet cannot be imagined."

Natives were employed burying the dead and collecting the booty, which was considerable. The arms, especially, were of fine manufacture, and the officers and men, "with one accord," writes Outram, "resolved upon presenting the sword of Mehraub Khan to their gallant leader, General Willshire, in token of their admiration of his heroic bearing."*

The column remained at Khelat until the 21st of November, when General Willshire, having made the necessary arrangements, commenced his march to Cutch Gundava. Before leaving, he placed on the throne Nou Nawaz Khan, cousin of the late chief, who came up from Dadur, where he was residing with Mr. Ross Bell, the Political Agent of Upper Scinde, but the prince was not acceptable to the people, and Mehraub Khan's eldest son, a boy of fifteen, was called to the head of affairs with the approbation of the Indian Government.

to the skill of the Engineers, in which they were nearly right; but at Khelat it was a fair stand-up fight and no favour, and the hardest hitter, holding out longest, had it. But the Native soldier, too, had his share, and did his duty at Khelat. At Ghuznee the four European regiments were the storming party; and it was an unstatesman-like act, whether military or not, to show 'the Afghan nation and Asia generally,' that the invaders of India would find only 20,000 European troops scattered over a million square miles beyond the Sutlej, worth their consideration, and that the 150,000 Native soldiery there were not to be counted on, or their opposition apprehended, since our own General could not, or would not, rely on them. General Willshire has removed the chance of this false impression, and his conduct towards the 31st Bengal Native Infantry calls for the gratitude of the country in a more tangible shape than the thanks of Parliament."

* This sword is a superb weapon, and the scabbard is encrusted with precious stones of great size and value. In grasping the handle one is struck with its smallness.

General Willshire marched for Cutch Gundava by the Moola Pass, having despatched Captain Outram, who volunteered for the service, with a duplicate copy of his despatches to the Bombay Government, by the direct route to Soonmeanee, a seaport of Lus, as he was desirous of having a report on its practicability, or otherwise, for the passage of troops. Outram performed the duty with his usual ability and good fortune, and at Soonmeanee embarked for Kurrachee, *en route* to Bombay, which he reached in safety.

General Willshire found less difficulty than was anticipated in traversing the Moola, or Gundava, Pass from Khelat; a surveying party, sent from Dadur by Sir John Keane, in the previous March, having pronounced the road impracticable for artillery. Dr. Kennedy says that the route was "found to be in every respect more accessible than the Bolan, and with fewer difficulties in respect to forage and supplies, there being a few mountain villages, and an appearance of population, instead of an inhospitable desert." But Lieutenant Holdsworth gives a different account, and writes: "We found the Gundava a much longer and more difficult pass than that of the Bolan, and could get very little grain or supplies either for ourselves or our cattle." From Kotree, a place seven miles from Gundava, General Willshire marched to Larkhana, and, on the 24th of December received orders from Lord Auckland to break up the Bombay Division of the Army of the Indus, the military arrangements for Scinde being made over to the Bombay Government from the 9th instant. He was directed to march with the 17th Regiment and artillery to Sukkur, and the 2nd Queen's and cavalry were to proceed, *via* Kurrachee, the former to Deesa, and the latter to Poona. On the 27th of December the division was broken up, and General Willshire took leave of his old regiment, which he had commanded, in quarters and in the field, for more than twelve years.

Soon after arriving at Sukkur, the Government, considering that the position of affairs looked more settled, directed General Willshire to proceed to Bombay with the 17th Regiment, and accordingly, in company with Sir John Keane and Hyder Khan, son of Dost Mahomed, who was captured at Ghuznee, he proceeded to Kurrachee, and thence embarked for Bombay.

Lord Auckland issued a General Order on the 4th of December, the day he received General Willshire's report on the capture of Khelat, in which his lordship said: "The Governor-General is happy to avail himself of this opportunity to record his high admiration of the signal gallantry and spirit of the

troops engaged on this occasion, and offers, on the part of the Government, his best thanks to Major-General Willshire, and to the officers and men who served under him." When forwarding copies of General Willshire's despatches to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, his lordship wrote in the following terms:—"The decision, the great military skill, and excellent dispositions of Major-General Willshire, in conducting the operations against Khelat, appear to me deserving the highest commendation. The gallantry, steadiness, and soldier-like bearing of the troops under his command, rendered his plans of action completely successful; thereby again crowning our arms across the Indus with signal victory. I need not expatiate on the importance of this achievement, from which the best effects must be derived, not only in the vindication of our national honour, but also in confirming the security of intercourse between Scinde and Afghanistan, and in promoting the safety and tranquillity of the restored monarchy; but I would not omit to point out that the conduct on this occasion of Major-General Willshire, and of the officers and men under his command (including the 31st Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, which had not been employed in the previous active operations of the campaign,) have entitled them to more prominent notice than I was able to give them in my General Order of the 18th of November, and in recommending these valuable services to the applause of the Committee, I trust that I shall not be considered as going beyond my proper province in stating an earnest hope that the conduct of Major-General Willshire in the direction of the operations will not fail to elicit the approbation of Her Majesty's Government."*

Lord Hill, commanding-in-chief, also wrote under date of the 4th of March, 1840, "to express Her Majesty's high satisfaction at the judgment, skill, gallantry, and discipline displayed by General Willshire and the troops under his command," in effecting what Sir Jasper Nicolls described, in publishing the order to the Indian army, as "their splendid noonday achievement."

* Lord Auckland wrote privately to General Willshire from Agra on the 20th of December:—"I have for some days been wishing for an hour of leisure to enable me to write to you. I would in the first place convey to you my gratitude, and express my admiration of the manner in which the capture of Khelat was effected. The exploit is among the most brilliant, and I believe that its effect will be of the highest political advantage, but I have already publicly given you my thanks, and will only add upon this subject that I have taken the earliest opportunity to communicate to the authorities at home my sense of the service which has been rendered by you, and by the officers and men under your command."

General Willshire was gazetted K.C.B.,* and received the thanks of Parliament for his services in Afghanistan; and, for his brilliant capture of Khelat, he was created a Baronet on the 6th of June, 1840. His troops, in common with the rest of the Army of the Indus, were awarded six months batta, and he wrote to the Horse Guards and India House soliciting a medal for Khelat, but in vain.

Sir Thomas Willshire reverted to his command of the Poona Brigade, but, soon after his return from Afghanistan, was struck by a *coup de soleil* whilst travelling in a palanquin, which compelled him to resign his command and embark for England.

His health having been restored after a short residence in his native land, Sir Thomas Willshire accepted the command at Chatham, which he exercised to the satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief, and, in 1847, resigned the command on attaining the substantive rank of Major-General on the British Establishment. Sir Thomas Willshire was not again actively employed, and only now may be said to have relaxed from the stern course of life due to his sense of what was required by his profession. As the author of the *Seasons* says, he—

“Disdained, for coward ease
And her insipid pleasures, to resign
The prize of glory.”

It had always been one of his maxims that military and naval officers on active service “had no business to marry,” but now that he had retired, he was released from this obligation, and, within a year of leaving Chatham, he married Annette Letitia, daughter of Captain Berkeley Maxwell, R.N., by whom he had a family of two sons† and three daughters. In 1849 Sir Thomas was appointed to the colonelcy of the 51st Light Infantry, the old colours of which distinguished regiment were given to Lady Willshire by the officers on the occasion of her presenting new colours, and are now hung over the portrait of their late colonel in the family residence.

In 1861 Sir Thomas Willshire was raised to the highest grade of the Bath, but though in that year the Government established the “Most Exalted Order of the Star of India,” and his most important military service was rendered in that country, he was passed over in the distribution of that Order.

* Brigadier Baumgardt and Colonels Pennycuik and Carruthers received the C.B. for the capture of Khelat.

† The elder son, now Sir Arthur Willshire, is a captain in the Scots Guards, and the younger a lieutenant in the 73rd Highlanders.

This omission was felt more by those who had served under him at Khelat than by the gallant old soldier, whose mind was now more set on preparing himself for the great change which many premonitions told him was near at hand, than in hankering after the unsubstantial and fleeting honours of this life. He had enjoyed to the full his share of what the world can bestow, and more honourable than the ribbons and crosses of military orders—which many others with small claims have equally shared—were the medals he had won in his country's service. Thus, the Peninsular Medal, with seven clasps for Rorica, Vimiera, Corunna, Salamanca, Vittoria, San Sebastian, and the Nive, was a decoration he shared with many comrades of humbler rank in the 38th Regiment, but, to a true soldier like Sir Thomas Willshire, it was more highly prized on that account.

Sir Thomas Willshire resided for several years at Riching's Park, in Buckinghamshire, and then removed to Hill House, near Windsor, where he passed the last years of his life. His sight began to fail in 1859, and the infirmities of age stole gently, though perceptibly, upon him, till on his return, apparently in good health, from attending divine service on Sunday, the 27th of April, 1862, he was suddenly seized with an attack of serous apoplexy, from which he slightly rallied, but finally sank to his rest on the 31st of May. In him the army mourned a good and gallant soldier, one of the best representatives of that class of regimental officers, who, though destitute of interest, achieve military distinction solely by merit and force of character: and, says one qualified to speak, "he was lamented by all who know him in private life as a sincere Christian, a tender husband and father, and a steadfast friend." The widow of Colonel Ogilvie, who long commanded the 46th Regiment, says of his kindness of heart: "I can only speak of him as a kind friend, which he proved to me when I was quite a stranger to him, and when I stood in need of help. Colonel Ogilvie was dangerously ill at Secunderabad—not expected to live—and his death would have given Colonel Willshire the regiment. He came to my aid, made all arrangements for removing my husband to Bolarum, accompanied us there to see us comfortably settled, and was indefatigable in his attentions, so that Colonel Ogilvie was able to keep the command all the time and soon got well."

Sir William Wyllie writes of his old commander: "During the many years he commanded the Poona Brigade and Station, never was any cantonment kept with such regularity in every respect, or any brigade in a more efficient state. The force

he took to Khelat was very weak, but the operations were admirably conducted, and the fortress and citadel fell. Sir Thomas's subsequent arrangements were marked with justice and forbearance, and to his conduct on this occasion, and to Sir James Outram, must be attributed the friendly feeling shown by the Natives to our troops, which afterwards marched through the territory of the Khan of Khelat. Sir Thomas was considered an admirable disciplinarian, and a first-rate commander, both in garrison and in the field. He had such a quick and correct eye, that on more than one occasion when he found the covering sergeant, or mounted officer, not instantly attending to his directions, he has been heard to call out, 'Oh! he'll kill me dead!' On another occasion calling at the quarters of a married officer of his regiment, the Queen's, his keen eye had been attracted by a painting which had been badly hung; the lady remarked to him that he seemed fond of pictures, but the next time he called, chancing to find no one in the room, he leaped over a sofa, and placed the picture in a straight position; having done this, as he afterwards explained to me, 'my admiration for the picture ceased.' After the fall of Khelat, I remember his saying to me when I was telling one of his Staff my reasons for not purchasing some article of prize property, 'Wyllic, God never gave us ties that He did not find the means to provide for them.'

A rigid disciplinarian in the fullest sense of the term, he never overlooked a neglect of duty, or a military offence, whether in officer or man, but this severity arose from a conscientious sense of duty and was guided by the strictest justice, favouritism being unknown under his command. An officer of the 2nd Queen's supplies us with an incident which shows that the martinet who earned the soubriquet of "Tiger Tom," had a kind heart beneath an austere manner: "At Poona the regiment had paraded to witness the sentence of a Court Martial carried into effect. Before the man had time to prepare, Sir Thomas Willshire called out, 'Is William Brown in the ranks? If so, let him fall out and go to the barracks.' This was a brother of the man about to receive corporal punishment. William Brown however was not on parade. I feel certain that no other officer of the Queen's then present recollected the relationship of the two men, and only for the thoughtful kindness of Sir Thomas Willshire one brother might have suffered the distress of seeing the other receive the punishment of the lash." In our opinion this incident displays a very fine trait of character, as showing that beneath the stern exterior

of the disciplinarian, was hidden the warm heart of the man, who, having known what it was to have a dearly loved brother, acknowledged the claims of fraternal affection. Few would have given him credit for such quick sensibility, and the incident created a deep impression among the men of the 2nd Queen's.

England, which annexes at the same time provinces in South Africa and Central Asia, and islands in the Pacific and Mediterranean, needs the services of such soldiers as Sir Thomas Willshire to maintain her vast empire. Like ancient Rome she grasps at the sovereignty of half the world—"*super et Garamantes et Indos, proferet imperium.*" Doubtless she will always command their services, and continue the prolific mother of heroes by land and sea.

Pope's epitaph on a military friend, applies equally well to the veteran soldier the story of whose life is now completed :—

"O, born to arms! O, worth in youth approved!
O, soft humanity in age beloved!
For thee the hardy veteran drops a tear,
And the gay courtier feels the sigh severe."

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR GEORGE CORNISH WHITLOCK, K.C.B.

Early Service in India—The Mahratta War—Capture of Copaul Droog—The Coorg Campaign—The Indian Mutiny—Services of the Nerbudda Field Force—Action at Banda—Capture of Banda and Kirwee—Return to England—The Banda and Kirwee Prize Suit—Death of Sir George Whitlock.

In the last century the army of the Madras Presidency held a foremost place in the achievement of the grand roll of victories by which our Indian empire was established. We need only point to the names emblazoned on the colours of the old Madras Fusiliers—now known in Her Majesty's service as the 102nd Royal Madras Fusiliers—such as "Arcot," "Plassey," and many others, to bring back to the mind the glorious deeds of Clive, while the colours of numerous native infantry regiments bear on their folds the word "Seringapatam," recalling the brilliant feat of arms by which Lord Harris earned his peerage, and the power of the most formidable enemy we had, up to that time, encountered in the East, was finally annihilated.

In those days, and down to the Mahratta war of 1818, when Malcolm crushed the Peishwa at Mahidpore, and the first Burmese war of 1824, the Presidency of Fort St. George did the lion's share of the fighting; but from the last-mentioned campaign to the present time, they have not had the same opportunities for earning that distinction in the field which is the aim of every man entering the profession of arms. It can be seen on reference to a map of India, that it was owing to the geographical position of the Madras Presidency that the Madrasses had no share in the wars of Afghanistan and Scinde, in the campaign of 1843 with Gwalior, and the two Sikh wars that followed in quick succession. They were in a measure indemnified for this inaction by sending troops to China in 1840-42, and to Burmah in 1852. But these were petty wars when compared with the gigantic struggles waged on the banks

of the Sutlej and Chenaub, when British armies fought drawn battles, and British colours and guns fell into the hands of a foe the most warlike and stubborn we have yet encountered in the East. People got into the habit of speaking disparagingly of the great southern division of the Indian peninsula, and sneeringly dubbed it the "benighted Presidency." But a day was at hand when British power in Asia had to encounter a storm before which the ship of state, well-nigh foundered with all hands—all hands, that is to say, but those in the "benighted" Presidency, for the Madras native soldier, whom it was the fashion to decry as "low caste," and deficient in the dash and military bearing of your Rajpoot, proved faithful to his salt in those troublous times. When the whole Bengal army rose in mutiny, when Bombay regiments in some instances joined them, or had to be disarmed, the patient Madras native soldier not only resisted every attempt to seduce him from his allegiance, but formed part of numerous columns, in some instances without European soldiers to watch them, that were despatched all over the country to reconquer some portions, or hold points that had been lost through the treachery or sedition of the petted Bengalee. All the world knows what the gallant old Madras Fusiliers did under their noble chief Neill, than whom there was not, perhaps, a finer or truer soldier in India; but many are inclined to forget that the Madras Sepoy did good service to the State, and it was under Sir George Whitlock, himself a Madras officer, that they achieved their successes, and stamped out the fires of mutiny in Bundelcund.

George Cornish Whitlock was born in the year 1798, and was a son of George Whitlock, Esq., of Ottery St. Mary, in Devonshire, a county famous from before the times of Sir Walter Raleigh, for the great men it has reared for the country of which it forms so picturesque a portion. George Whitlock joined the Madras army,—his commission as an Ensign bearing date 4th June, 1818—and his name appears on the cadre of the 8th N. I., though he was attached to the Rifle corps of the Madras Presidency. On the 20th December in the same year, he was gazetted to his Lieutenantancy, and was fortunate enough to see service before he had been twelve months in the army.

At the time of his arrival the Pindaree and Mahratta war was being carried on under the supreme direction of that good soldier and able diplomatist, Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. India, at this time, boasted the possession of a galaxy of talent, reared in her own local service, such as she can scarcely ever hope to surpass, and as any country might be proud to call her own.

I need not name such men as Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, Sir D. Ochterlony, Sir T. Metcalfe, and Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, to call forth the expression of a wish that the Government of Her Majesty and her royal successors may be served as well as was plain old "John Company," not only then, but down to the day when, having reared the Lawrences and Montgomerys of the Indian mutiny—soldiers and statesmen who, with their noble band, of assistants, saved an empire to Britain by the display of talent and virtue of the very highest order—this "Company of Merchants" handed over to the Crown intact this magnificent country, which they and their servants had converted into a British dependency in the space of a century.

Lieutenant Whitlock took part with his regiment in the concluding operations of the second Mahratta war. After the capture of Asseerghur, by the troops under Sir John Malcolm, a field-force was organised out of General Doveton's Reserve Division, under the command of Brigadier-General Pritzler, and was directed to operate against Copaul Droog. This force was composed of three troops of H.M.'s 22nd Light Dragoons, four troops of the 1st Native Cavalry; a strong detail of artillery with field-guns, and a battering train; and five regiments and detachments of infantry, of which the Rifle corps formed a part. On the 7th May, 1819, the division entered the territories of His Highness the Subahdar of the Deccan, and, on the following day, encamped before Copaul Droog. On the garrison refusing to surrender, a heavy cannonade was opened on the fort, which mounted 18 pieces of ordnance, and, after five days' continuous firing, the Engineer officers pronounced the breach practicable. Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th May, two columns of attack were formed, and moved out of the batteries at twelve o'clock.

The left attack moved on without much opposition till it arrived at the first gate, which was blown open by a "galloper" gun* of H.M.'s 22nd Light Dragoons, which was brought into action through a heavy fire, up a road apparently impracticable for any wheel carriages. The right attack found the wall they were to escalate very high, and General Pritzler detached the reserves, to follow up the left attack, when the whole of the three parties formed a junction at the second gateway, from which they pushed the enemy, who disputed every inch of ground, through the gates to the very summit of the hill, where

* Galloper guns were then attached to cavalry, and worked in the field in combination with them, as our horse artillery now do.

they surrendered. The British loss was six killed, including an officer of the Rifle corps, and fifty-one wounded, the smallness of which, considering the strength of the enemy's works, the General attributed to the spirited manner in which the officers and men did their duty.

This was the only operation of the Mahratta war in which Lieutenant Whitlock assisted. He was transferred to the 36th Madras N. I. in 1823, and took part in the Burmese war of 1824-26. Previous to embarking for foreign service, he had married Harriet, third daughter of Sir Samuel Fuller, Judge-Advocate-General at Madras, by whom he had a large family. He was at this time adjutant of his regiment, and embarked with it from Madras, the division from which Presidency was stronger than that from Bengal, and consisted of three European and seven native regiments, with detachments of pioneers and artillery. This arose from the disinclination of the high-caste Bengal Sepoy to cross the "Kala Pawnee," or black water, as they called the much-dreaded sea; while, on the other hand, the Madrasses vied with each other in their eagerness to be selected for foreign service. The entire force numbered 11,000 men, under the chief command of Sir Archibald Campbell, while Brigadier-Generals Macbean and M'Creagh led the Madras and Bengal columns respectively, though the former officer soon after gave place to General Fraser. Hostilities were declared on the 14th February, 1824, and peace was concluded on the second anniversary of that day, but not without considerable expenditure of treasure, and a vast sacrifice of life, chiefly owing to dysentery and the terrible Arracan fever, which not only carried off a fourth of the entire army, while half the survivors were in hospital, but laid the seeds of disease in many of those who escaped its immediate ravages. Nevertheless, it is certain we never waged a more just war, for the contest was forced upon us by the arrogance of the king and court of Ava.

This arduous contest was not without its uses, for here Sir Robert Sale, Sir Henry Havelock, and Sir George Pollock earned distinction, and laid the foundation for that thorough acquaintance with the art of war which, in after years, stood them in such good stead at Jellalabad, Lucknow, and Afghanistan.

Whitlock's regiment did not take a prominent part in the Burmese war. On the 16th July, 1831, he was gazetted to a Captaincy, after a service of just thirteen years. Captain Whitlock next saw service in Coorg. This principality lies on the Malabar coast, between Mysore and the sea, and comprises

an area of about 1,500 square miles, with an elevation of 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. At the commencement of the war with Tippoo, in 1791, a treaty had been concluded with the Raja, which secured his assistance and the resources of his country against the common enemy, while the British Government guaranteed the independence of his small state. In 1809 our brave ally died, and was succeeded by his brother, who, on his decease in 1820, bequeathed the throne to his son, Vira Raja. His first act was to put to death all those who had thwarted his views before he came to the throne; and, to prevent the possibility of his being superseded, he caused his kinsmen, twelve in number, to be executed. He exhibited a peculiar hatred of the British Government, and prohibited all intercourse between his subjects and Englishmen, a course which for some time had the effect of concealing his conduct from observation. At length, in 1832, his sister and her husband fled for their lives, and revealed the hideous tale of his barbarities, to the British Resident at Mysore, who proceeded in person to the capital, and endeavoured, though without success, to bring the Raja to reason. After fruitless attempts at negotiation, Lord William Bentinck resolved to treat the tyrant as a public enemy, and issued a proclamation recounting his atrocities, and announcing that he had ceased to reign.

A force of about 6,000 men was directed to enter the country from the north, south, east, and west, in four separate columns, under the general command of Colonel Lindsay. The columns under the immediate order of this officer, consisted of H.M.'s 39th, four N. I. regiments, with eight guns and a detachment of sappers. Colonel Lindsay, who advanced on the capital of Coorg from the eastward, detached Colonel Stewart with part of his division to act independently. With the advanced guard of this column, marched Captain Whitlock in command of the light company of his regiment. Colonel Stewart's force, which marched from Periapattam on the 1st April, 1834, crossed the Cauvery on the following day, and took a distinguished part in the capture of the fortified works on that river. On the 3rd, Captain Whitlock succeeded to the command of his regiment, owing to the absence of the Major, while employed as staff officer to the brigadier, and, on the same day, he led the 36th regiment against a stockade of great strength, known as Nunyarapettah, which commanded the road leading to the capital. The stockade was stormed in good style, and with but slight loss to the assailants. On the 5th, the column advanced to Rajendrapett, skirmishing on its march with the enemy amidst

the jungles on either side, but without experiencing any serious loss, and, on the following day, entered Madhukaira, the capital of Coorg, upon the ramparts of which Colonel Lindsay had that morning hoisted the British ensign. The Coorgs displayed the utmost bravery in the resistance they made against the advance of the other divisions. Two of the British columns were repeatedly repulsed by these gallant hill-men, and many officers and more than 200 soldiers fell beneath their weapons. But the Raja was as cowardly as he was cruel, and, abandoning his capital, surrendered to General Fraser, the Political Agent, who issued a proclamation, annexing the territory of Coorg to the Company's dominions, "in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people."

On the recommendation of the Commissioner of affairs at Coorg, the Governor-General directed that Captain Whitlock should remain in command of his regiment, vacant by the death of the Major, and of the station of Mereara where it was quartered. Captain Whitlock subsequently served on the Divisional Staff as Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General for a period of five years. On the 31st of July, 1840, he attained his majority, and, in 1848, was transferred to the 3rd N. I., much to the regret of his officers, who presented him with a service of plate as a recognition of his uniform kindliness, and of their respect for him as commanding officer.

In 1853 he was selected by the Commander-in-Chief to raise the 3rd Madras European Regiment; and, having attained his Lieutenant-Colonelcy on the 22nd September, 1845, was appointed its first commanding officer. On the 20th June, 1854, he became a full Colonel, and was appointed Brigadier at Kurnool, in the Madras Presidency.

A time of stern trial for every European in India was fast approaching, and, in May, 1857, the whole of the North-west Provinces was wrapped in the flames of revolt. Soon after his arrival in India, Sir Colin Campbell, the commander-in-chief, laid before Lord Canning, the Governor-General, a memorandum, bearing date 18th October, 1857, in which he submitted for his consideration a plan of operations for the pacification of Central India, and for ultimately co-operating with himself, if necessary, on the banks of the Jumna. His proposition was, in effect, that columns should be formed from the two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras; that from the former, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, should march from Mhow to Gwalior and Jhansi, while that from the latter, which was to be led by Sir Patrick Grant, should march towards Nagpore, and be

ultimately directed on Jubbulpore. These two columns were to act in concert. The Governor-General in Council adopted the arrangements suggested by Sir Colin Campbell, and, on the 13th November, instructions were despatched to the Madras Government. The following extract relates to the line of march :—

“It is the wish of the Governor-General in Council that the force should be directed through the Nizam's dominions to Nagpore, and eventually to Jubbulpore. Whether it will be necessary to call the force further beyond the Nerbudda to Saugor or elsewhere, is yet uncertain. It must depend upon the work which the column from Bombay may have in hand in Rajpootana, or in the western portion of Central India, after it shall have assembled in the month of January, and upon the course of events in Bundelcund, Central India, and Oude, which may possibly occupy the force in Bengal, and make it necessary to leave the Saugor territory to the care of the Madras column. It is the desire of the Governor-General in Council not to draw that column further northwards than can be avoided, but it must be prepared to operate even beyond Saugor if required.”

In the meantime Mr. Plowden, the Commissioner of Nagpore, had made an application for assistance, and the Madras Government directed the organisation of a force for service in the Nagpore, Saugor, and Nerbudda territories, and appointed Whitlock, who had attained the rank of Major-General in June, to the command. The only change effected on learning the wishes of the supreme Government was to make an addition to the force already constituted. The field-force, which had been hitherto known as the Kurnool movable column, now consisted of two troops of horse artillery, three companies of foot artillery, with two light field batteries attached; H.M.'s 12th Lancers, and the 6th and 7th Madras Light Cavalry; H.M.'s 43rd Light Infantry, the 3rd Madras Europeans, and the 1st, 5th, and 19th M. N. I.; with two companies of Sappers. Brigadier W. H. Miller commanded the artillery; Alexander Lawrence, eldest brother of Henry and John Lawrence, commanded the cavalry; while the two brigadiers of infantry were T. D. Carpenter, of the Madras army, and J. McDuff, of the 74th Highlanders. In those days, when European soldiers were so scarce, this force formed quite a respectable army.

The primary object of this column was the relief of Saugor; but as the force could not be expected to reach that place till the middle of January, Major Erskine, the Commissioner of

the Saugor division, applied for assistance to Sir Hugh Rose the commander of the Central India field-force. Saugor, which is sometimes called the key of Central India, was certainly in a critical condition. It contained a large and valuable arsenal, and, at this time, was a refuge for some 150 women and children, who had taken shelter within the fort. The garrison was totally inadequate to stand a siege, and immediately outside the cantonments were 1,000 Bengal Sepoys, who, though they had not as yet exhibited any inclination to mutiny, were necessarily an object of suspicion and alarm. The surrounding district was in a state of the most lawless disorder, and the rebels were in possession of several strong forts in the neighbourhood, as Ratghur and Garrakotah, which Sir Hugh Rose subsequently captured. General Whitlock marched early in January, and, on the 10th, reached Kamptee, on the frontiers of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories; after remaining there a fortnight, he started, on the 23rd, for Jubbulpore, a town on the Nerbudda, about 150 miles due north of Kamptee, which was reached on the 6th of February.

After a stay of a few days at Jubbulpore, General Whitlock proceeded northwards with his main column, by the Dekhan road to the fort of Jokahie, which had been captured by Lieutenant Osborne, with his Rewah levies, and thence to Dumoh, which he reached on the 4th March. At Jubbulpore he left behind the 50th N. I., under Colonel Keating, to protect the town and district. As his future contemplated operations were against various strongholds in the neighbourhood of Dumoh, he left there the main body of his force, and removed the head-quarters of his division to Saugor, which had been relieved by Sir Hugh Rose on the 3rd of February. On the 13th of March General Whitlock quitted Saugor, leaving there a detachment of the 3rd Madras European Regiment and 50th Madras N. I., and returned to Dumoh. All necessary preparations were made to take the field in three different directions, when, on the 16th of March, instructions were received from the Governor-General, which changed all his previous plans.

In the meantime, Sir Hugh Rose and General Whitlock had been keeping up a correspondence as to their doings and projected operations. Sir Hugh announced his intention of advancing, as speedily as possible, on Jhansi, so as to clear the left flank of Lord Clyde's army, and suggested to General Whitlock to clear the valley of the Nerbudda, and also requested him to furnish him with transport for grain and pontoons. The order which General Whitlock received when near to Dumoh,

on the 16th of March, and which changed all his plans, was to march to the relief of the loyal chiefs in Bundelcund. Before considering the consequences produced by this order, it will be desirable to give some account of the district destined for the scene of operations, and to state the circumstances which led to its being given.

Bundelcund is a territory about 200 miles in extent from S.E. to N.W., and 155 miles from S.W. to N.E. It is bounded on the west and northward by Gwalior, on the north-east by the Jumna, on the east by Rewah, and on the south by the British territory of Saugor and Nerbudda. In quite the early part of the century Bundelcund was one of the territories under Mahratta rule; but, as we have seen, in 1819 the Mahratta power had been broken by the English, and the last Peishwa ceded to the East India Company all his rights in Bundelcund, and retired to Bithoor, a holy city on the Ganges, as a pensioner of the British Government. He adopted as his successor Nana Sahib, but the British Government refused to recognise the title by adoption; and this refusal, no doubt, was the chief grievance of the Nana.

At this time the province of Bundelcund consisted partly of British districts, where the native sovereigns were only titular, and the judicial and fiscal management appertained to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces; and partly of native states, over which the Governor-General's agent for Scindia's dominions and Bundelcund exercised a political superintendence. Amongst the native states were Adjghur, Chirkaree, Chutteeepore, Punnah, and Tehree. Jhansi, also, until a short time before the mutiny, had been a native state, but upon the death of the late Rajah, Lord Dalhousie refused to recognise a son whom he had adopted, and Jhansi was declared to have lapsed to the British Government. The Ranee, the Rajah's widow, however, refused to acknowledge our right, and, on the mutiny breaking out, joined the rebel cause, and became one of its most active and implacable leaders.

Amongst the British districts of Bundelcund were Banda, Calpee, Hummeerpore, and Kirwee, otherwise called Tirohan, which is a part of Banda. The Nawab of Banda, upon the outbreak of the mutiny, seems to have saved the lives of the Europeans, but, subsequently, taking advantage of the disorder, attempted to assume the rule of the Hummeerpore district, collecting revenue, and forbidding, under pain of death, payment of revenue to the British, which was being collected for them by the Rajah of Chirkaree. The chiefs of Kirwee were two brothers, called Narain Rao and Madho Rao, connections of Nana Sahib,

both young men, and much under the influence of their prime minister, one Baboo Gobind. They, also, like the Nawab of Banda, were at first friendly to the British, but, towards the end of the year 1857, they conspired with him, advanced him money, shared the revenue which he unlawfully exacted, and took mutineers into their pay.

The most faithful ally to the British in Bundelcund was the Rajah of Chirkaree. In July, 1857, he had been invested by Mr. Carne—the assistant magistrate on duty at Chirkaree—with the management of the Humnecpore district, and deputed to collect the revenue for the British Government. He was not, however, strong enough for this task, and became the object of attack by the enemies of the British, especially the Nawab of Banda and Nana Sahib. Towards the end of January, 1858, he was defeated at Belgaum by mutineers from Julalpore, and compelled to retreat to his capital, Chirkaree, where he expected daily to be attacked. Mr. Carne, through Major Ellis, applied for assistance from Sir Hugh Rose's column; but Sir R. Hamilton—the political officer with the Central Indian column—found himself obliged to decline, and could only suggest the possibility of General Whitlock being able to help him. The Rajah of Chirkaree's fears proved true.

On the 18th February about 1,200 mutinous infantry and cavalry from Calpee, with ten or eleven guns, aided by 8,000 or 9,000 matchlock men and Sowars, came down upon Chirkaree and invested it. These assailants were, undoubtedly, the Gwalior Contingent, which had mutinied against the British, and were now in the Nana's pay, and headed by his agent, the scarcely less notorious Tantia Topee. They were, shortly afterwards, reinforced by troops from the Nawab of Banda and the Rancee of Jeitpore. No assistance came from the British columns, and the besiegers obtained possession of the whole of the city of Chirkaree, the fort only holding out. In this emergency, Mr. Carne, on the 27th February, and again on the 1st March, wrote for aid direct to Mr. Edmonstone, the Secretary to the Governor-General at Allahabad. The Governor-General, however, in a letter, dated the 7th March, informed Mr. Carne that he could not afford assistance; but, altering his determination on the 13th, his lordship, through his Military Secretary, Colonel Birch, sent to General Whitlock, ordering him forthwith to proceed to the relief of the loyal chiefs of Bundelcund. While Sir Hugh Rose adhered to his original intention to move northwards on Jhansi—he had received, on the 30th March, Lord Canning's approval of this step—General Whitlock quitted the Saugor and

Nerbudda territory on the 22nd March, and entered Bundelcund, marching, in the first instance, in a north-easterly direction to Punnah, with the object of relieving the loyal Chirkaree chief, who was threatened at this time by a rebel army amounting, according to an estimate of Sir Robert Hamilton, to no less than 60,000 men.

On the 25th March, General Whitlock reached the right bank of the Kane river, and, on the 29th, arrived at Punnah, where he halted till the 2nd April. The immediate necessity to advance on Chirkaree had, however, ceased, for Major Ellis, the Political Officer with the General, learned that, on the 19th—ten days before the arrival of the Madras column at Punnah—the rebels besieging Chirkaree had retired, and, having left the Rajah wholly unmolested, had collected in force near Nowgong. Nevertheless, General Whitlock resolved to march to Chirkaree, taking the route which would lead him in a north-westerly direction through the Punnah Ghaut. On the 2nd of April, the Madras force descended a very difficult pass, Murwa Ghaut, to a place called Mandala, close to the River Kane. There they were obliged to halt, in consequence of the baggage having been delayed; and, whilst halting, on the 3rd of April, an express came in from Sir Hugh Rose, dated the 30th March, requesting the force to move forward with all expedition direct on Jhansi. General Whitlock at once made every exertion to comply with this request; but, from the first, it was foreseen that it would be hardly possible for the column to move on again until the 5th. Before they could leave Mandala, there came further news that the rebels, who had been besieging Chirkaree, had marched across country to Nowgong, and thence advanced to attack Sir Hugh Rose under the walls of Jhansi, where they had been completely defeated, and were in full flight.

General Whitlock now altered his course, and, on the 7th, set off on his march to Banda. The Madras column reached Chutterpore on the 9th, and, on the following day, fought an action with the rebels at a place called Jheeghun. Having received information that 2,000 of the enemy, under a notorious rebel chief, called Disspat Bandala, had collected at this place, the dépôt for their plunder, distant about seventeen miles from Chutterpore, General Whitlock made a night march on the 9th April; but as, from the intricacies of the road and the ignorance of his guides, he found himself still four miles from the rebel stronghold at five on the following morning, he saw that the only chance of a surprise was by a rapid advance of mounted troops. The General, accordingly, moved forward with a troop

of Horse Artillery, a squadron of Lancers, and some of the Hyderabad Horse, and came upon the rebels as they were leisurely evacuating their position. The artillery opened on them, and the greater portion of the cavalry dashed into their ranks, committing much havoc, while the remainder intercepted their flight. The movement was completely successful. The General wrote: "Under fire of matchlocks and through jungle, which had been set on fire to impede our pursuit, but unavailingly, our troops came up with the rebels and the slaughter was heavy. To follow further without infantry (for the jungle was becoming dense) would have been as useless as imprudent, and the force returned to camp, leaving ninety-seven rebels dead on the field, and bringing with them thirty-seven prisoners." Disspat, the rebel chief, long the terror of the district, who had just returned from Jhansi, narrowly escaped capture. His two nephews, equally notorious for their villainies, fell into our hands, and, with seven other prisoners, were hanged in the evening. Much baggage, cattle, grain, and matchlocks were found. The village and rebel stronghold was then completely destroyed by the field engineers.

On 16th April General Whitlock arrived at a place between Jheeghun and Banda, called Mahoba, and thence proceeded with all despatch to Banda, a course he had not only proposed to himself to adopt, but which Sir Robert Hamilton had urgently requested him, in a letter dated the 12th inst., to carry out, so that after the capture of the city, he might clear the right bank of the Jumna between it and Calpee, and be thus in a position to act in co-operation with the Central India force at Calpee. General Whitlock approached Banda on the 19th, and was met by the rebel forces, who, headed by the Nawab, came out to give him battle. A general action now ensued. The insurgents were estimated at 7,000 strong, of whom 1,000 were disciplined Sepoys of the Bengal army. The engagement lasted several hours, and, after a severe contest, terminated in the total defeat of the enemy, who left on the field more than 1,000 of their number, of whom 800 were killed, and several guns.

• An officer thus describes the action of the 19th April:—"The engagement commenced a little before daybreak, and lasted till near noon—frightful work under such a sun. The enemy had taken up a strong position about five miles in front of Banda. Their guns were planted in a cluster of mango trees, not far from the village of Gourier; their infantry were posted in adjacent nullahs, while men concealed in the trees poured an incessant musketry fire. As soon as our advanced guard, about

600 strong, approached under Colonel Apthorp, the enemy's batteries, which commanded the road, opened fire, but our men steadily advanced until within 400 yards of the enemy. Then, under cover of our guns, Colonel Apthorp, whose coolness, skill, and courage were beyond all praise, made a flank movement, which effectually turned their position. Our men were, however, severely galled by the heavy fire kept up upon them from the numerous enemies in the nullahs, and from the trees around. Colonel Apthorp saw that, in spite of overwhelming odds, there was nothing for it but to charge. The 3rd Europeans proved themselves worthy of their leader, and though the enemy disputed the ground and crossed bayonets with our men, nothing could stand before the British bayonet, and, after a short struggle, they gave way. The cavalry, on their side, who had been ordered to charge and take the guns on the enemy's left, did their work with no less heroism, and succeeded in capturing three guns.

"In the meantime, the enemy's cavalry, supported by a portion of their infantry, had endeavoured to make a diversion by stealing round behind a village which had covered Apthorp's advance, and making a *détour* over some elevated ground at the back of it, with the intention of attacking the main column in the flank or rear; but this movement was fortunately discovered, and Major Bryce's battery of guns, which had already done good service with the advanced party, opened on them a well-directed fire. Brigadier Carpenter then ordered a party of skirmishers to take care of them, and a few volleys from the Enfield rifles soon sent them to the right-about, leaving their infantry in the ravines of the hill to be cut to pieces by our troops.

"After pursuing them about two miles, we halted to collect the force, and to give the men a little rest, which they sorely needed under such a frightful sun. About a mile beyond us was a small river, with a high bank on the further side, intersected with ravines. Here we found that the enemy were again making a stand; but by this time Captain Palmer had come up with our big guns. The first shot, admirably directed, pitched right in amongst them, killing, as some say, their chief in command. After one or two repetitions of the dose, they found they could bear it no longer, and away they all went pell-mell towards Banda, much to our satisfaction, for the second position was even stronger than the first. After them, of course, we went; the Lancers and the Horse Artillery leading, and a beautiful sight it was to see them going *ventre à terre* over that

difficult ground. Brigadier Miller and Major Oakes led the way, and Major Mayne, with the guns, was close behind. They overtook and captured another of the enemy's cannon; but here Brigadier Miller was wounded, and but for the prompt rescue of Captain Clifton, of the Lancers, would have been killed. The pursuit was continued to the banks of the Kane, which is about one mile and a half from Banda. Here they made their first stand under the walls of a fort on the river's bank. A further pursuit, it was apprehended, might bring us under the fire of the fort, and the ground near the river was of a most difficult nature. Here, therefore, the recall was sounded, and the victors halted. We might, as it proved, have followed the enemy across the river, and even through the town of Banda, when the Nawab himself would have been captured. We are now masters of the place, and parties have gone out from camp to beat up the lurking-place of several of their chiefs."

The Nawab fled from the field, it was believed, in the first instance to Kirwee, but, subsequently, he made in the direction of Calpee, and threw himself into that city with 3,000 men. The British troops took possession of Banda, and found in the palace a large amount of loot. The city was half deserted, while the military station was completely destroyed. The houses being burned down or levelled, and the gardens ruined. The church appeared to have been a special object of the antipathy of the mutineers; not only had they made a target of the tower, which was pitted all over with marks of cannon shot, but they had blown off the roof with gunpowder, torn out all the window-frames, and undermined the walls, evidently with the intention of blowing up the building, one corner of which had been much shattered. On the Sunday following the action, the chaplains of the force gave Christian burial, in a vault in the centre of the church, to the remains of the unfortunate people who had been murdered in the previous June, and whose bones were identified and collected. General Whitlock telegraphed his success to Lord Clyde and to Sir Hugh Rose, with both of whom he was acting in co-operation, and also to the Commander-in-chief at Madras.

Sir Hugh having applied to Whitlock to co-operate with him in his advance on Calpee, the latter wrote to the Governor-General, asking for reinforcements from the north of the Jumna for his own column, in order that he might respond to the call, and waited at Banda for the reply. The Governor-General received the application on the 28th, and, at once, replied that no men

could be spared to reinforce the Madras column, and that he had better remain at Banda, as the presence of a military force would be required there for some time. Almost on the same day, he received a memorandum from General Mansfield, Lord Clyde's Chief of the Staff, directing him to march up the right bank of the Jumna, to assist Sir Hugh Rose in the reduction of Calpee, if the country in the vicinity of Banda and to the Eastward was sufficiently pacified. General Whitlock, considering that his presence at Banda was necessary in the unsettled state of the country, resolved to remain where he was; but his troops were nevertheless not idle, for, on the 18th April, he sent off a strong detachment, under Brigadier Carpenter, to escort the Rajah of Chirkarce to his capital, where the Rajah's family were still in some danger. About this time sickness attacked the force, and continued with great intensity all the month of May.

In the meantime, Sir Hugh Rose continued his victorious career. He stormed Koonch on the 7th May, and, at length, with only two weak brigades, performed the great achievement of carrying Calpee by storm on the 23rd May, after a desperate battle at Golowlee on the Jumna. Previously to this the Governor-General had, in reply to Sir Hugh's repeated and earnest solicitations, directed General Whitlock to support him, if he could spare any portion of his troops, and stated that some reinforcements now on their way to Banda would reach him on the 26th. Upon receipt of these instructions, General Whitlock wrote to Sir Hugh a letter which the latter received on the 30th May, stating that he was expecting his second brigade, under Brigadier McDuff, immediately, and that he would then reinforce him with a brigade efficient in all arms. This second brigade arrived at Banda on the 27th May; but meantime, on the 23rd, Calpee had fallen. These particulars are necessary to show that the subject of this memoir was desirous, like a gallant soldier as he was, to assist his brother in arms; and that the fact of his not being able to co-operate in the feat of arms, which it was thought at the time had closed the campaign as far as the Central India force was concerned, was due in no measure to backwardness on his part.

Lord Clyde issued a general order on the 28th May, congratulating the three columns under the command of Generals Rose, Whitlock, and Roberts, upon the success of their labours, but, though well deserved, it was premature. On the fall of Calpee, Sir Hugh wrote to General Whitlock informing him that he did not require his assistance; and, in reply, the latter, after

warmly congratulating him on his success, proceeded to say "I was to have marched this morning to join you, but now proceed to look after Narrain Rao, who has a large number of rebels and guns with him. My small column has suffered very severely. My aide-de-camp and myself were prostrated from the effects of a *coup de soleil*, and I am only now recovering. We have lost from sunstroke five officers and several men. It was frightful, the heat. Now we are all better. The rain has cooled the air considerably. I have just heard that some of the cavalry from Calpee are making their way to Narrain Rao, but I disbelieve the fact. I fancy the rebels look to the effect of the sun on our troops, but you have set them to rights on that point."

This Narrain Rao, whom General Whitlock announced his intention of "looking after," was the chief of Kirwee, a town about fifty miles from Banda. As early as the 22nd April, three days after the action at Banda, this prince had written to Major Ellis, political agent with General Whitlock, stating he was not in rebellion, and was prepared, if allowed an opportunity, to prove his loyalty. In reply Major Ellis wrote back on the 27th, directing him to appear before him at Banda, bringing with him his colleague, Madho Rao, and Radho Gobind, his prime minister, and to come without guns, and attended by not more than 100 followers. Narrain Rao wrote back in reply on the 29th, saying that he was discharging all his men as fast as possible, but would come in at the end of a week or ten days. Shortly after this, orders were received from the Supreme Government for the arrest of these princes, and General Whitlock set out for Kirwee, on the 2nd June. When he was some ten miles from the city, on the morning of the 5th, Narrain Rao and Madho Rao, descendants of the once mighty Peishwa of Poona, came into the camp, and surrendered themselves; their prime minister, Radho Gobind, having, at the approach of the British force, retreated to a fort sixteen miles distant from Kirwee, called Manickpore, from which he fled on the 7th, when threatened with an attack.

On the following day, the 6th June, General Whitlock entered Kirwee, without meeting with any opposition, and took possession of the palace. In the court-yard he found thirty-eight new brass guns, and every description of munitions of war, including 800 muskets and belts; also jackets and accoutrements of the 50th and 67th regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, and of the Gwalior Contingent, the Sepoys of which corps had fought against us at Chirkaree, Betwa, Koonch, and Calpee, all forming incon-

trovertible evidence that Tantia Topee, who had commanded the rebel troops, had been befriended by Narrain Rao. In the palace also was found the chief part of the booty, consisting of forty-two lacs of rupees in coin, with a vast quantity of specie, jewels, and diamonds, the distribution of which gave rise to that *cause célèbre* of admiralty prize suits, the great Banda and Kirwee case. Meanwhile, on the very day that General Whitlock captured Kirwee, Sir Hugh Rose set out from Calpee for Gwalior, in consequence of the receipt of news that the rebels had rallied under their old leaders, the Ranees of Jhansi, the Nawab of Banda, Rao Sahib, and the notorious Tantia Topee, and, having compelled Scindia to fly to Agra, had entered Gwalior, and proclaimed Nana Sahib Peishwa. Sir Hugh Rose, having received reinforcements on his march, defeated the rebels in a general action on the 19th, when the Ranees of Jhansi was killed, Tantia Topee and the Nawab of Banda escaped only by a precipitate flight, Gwalior was recovered, and the Maharajah reinstated on his throne.

The general order of the Supreme Government, published to the armies of the three Presidencies on the 9th June, after enumerating the part taken by the army of Bengal in the successful conduct of the plan designed by the military authorities, proceeds to say, "The three columns put in movement from Madras and Bombay have rendered like great and efficient services in their long and difficult marches to the Jumna, through Central India and in Rajpootana. These columns, under the command of Major-Generals Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Whitlock, and Roberts, having admirably performed their share in the general combination arranged under the orders of his lordship the Governor-General. The combination was spread over a surface ranging from the boundaries of Bombay and Madras to the extreme north-west of India." Again, after the fall of Gwalior and capture of Kirwee, another general order was issued, dated Calcutta, 22nd June, 1858. The Commander-in-Chief, after congratulating Sir Hugh Rose on his successful operations throughout the campaign, and at Gwalior, proceeds to point out in how great a measure the successful accomplishment of these victories, was due to the less showy successes of the Nerbudda and Rajpootana field forces. Sir Colin Campbell said:—"It must not be forgotten that the advance of the Central India field force, formed part of a large combination, and was rendered possible by the movement of Major-General Roberts, of the Bombay Army, into Rajpootana on the one side, and of Major-General Whitlock, of the Madras Army, on the other ;

and by the support they respectively gave to Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, as he moved onwards in obedience to his instructions. The two Major-Generals have well sustained the honour of their Presidencies. The siege of Kotah and the action of Banda take rank amongst the best achievements of the war. The Commander-in-Chief offers his best thanks to Major-General Roberts, to Major-General Whitlock, and the various corps under their command. He is happy in welcoming them to the Presidency of Bengal."

A donation of six months' batta was given to each of the three columns, that for the Nerbudda field force being awarded on the 13th November, and, on the 7th April, 1859, Her Majesty announced that a clasp for "Central India" should be granted to the troops which, under the command of Major-General Whitlock, performed such important service in that portion of her dominions—the armies of Sir Hugh Rose and General Roberts being, of course, awarded a similar decoration. After the fall of Kirwee, General Whitlock was appointed, on the 7th July, to a divisional command, embracing the Saugor district. Operations were undertaken, in August, by detachments, under Brigadier Carpenter and McDuff, but, owing to the incessant rain which completely flooded the country, they were carried on with the greatest difficulty, though in every instance with success. Again, in December, General Whitlock took the field against some rebels who were ravaging the country, and his troops were engaged in a small affair, and stormed the height of Punwarree, not far from Kirwee, which city having been previously abandoned, was recaptured at the same time. On this occasion a further small amount of treasure was discovered, and dug up in the fort. Thus propitiously for his honour, and also be it said for his purse, closed the war services of General Whitlock and the Nerbudda field force.

"The march through Central India was one of the most arduous undertaken by any troops. Part of the field force marched no less than 1,300 miles, with only an occasional halt at large stations for a few days for the purpose of laying in commissariat stores. Some idea may be formed of the excessive exertion and fatigue undergone both by officers and men, when it is considered that this march was, in most part, performed during the hottest season of the year, in which the mean temperature exceeded that of any known during the fifteen years preceding. The marches commenced before daylight, usually as early as two a.m., and it frequently happened that the rear of the column did not arrive in camp until four or five p.m. A mere

country track constituted the only route, at times crossing chains of high, precipitous hills, cutting through rocks and jungles for days together, traversing and passing numerous rivers, many of great breadth, without bridges or boats. Now and again the troops were employed in dragging the carts, some hundreds in number, containing ammunition and stores, over almost insurmountable obstacles where cattle were nearly useless. The monsoon, usually commencing in June, did not in this year visit Central India until the middle of July, consequently the acute sufferings of the troops under the burning and arid breezes of that inhospitable region, were not only most exceptionally intense, but protracted. The 43rd Regiment alone lost three officers and forty-four men from sunstroke."*

Besides receiving the thanks of the Governor-General, and of Lord Clyde in an autograph letter, General Whitlock was mentioned in the vote of thanks awarded by both Houses of the Imperial Parliament to officers in command of divisions, and to the troops employed in the suppression of the mutiny. He was created a K.C.B. in 1859, and, on the 30th September, 1862, received the colonelcy of the 108th Regiment, the corps which he had raised and commanded as the 3rd Madras Europeans. Sir George Whitlock commanded the northern division of the Madras army during 1860-61, but the state of his health compelled him to resign the command and return to England. On April 9th, 1864, he became a lieutenant-general.

It would appear that nothing could be simpler than distributing booty earned by troops in the field, yet this, though a common-sense view, is not a correct one. The "law's delays" are proverbial, and so ought to be the dilatoriness of the authorities in awarding prize captured in war. The delay in this instance partly arose from claims to share by officers and troops other than those serving under General Whitlock. This gave rise to a famous lawsuit, in which the whole learning of the bar was arrayed, the papers and documents filling many folio volumes. On the 30th June, 1866, the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington delivered judgment in this celebrated case in the Court of Admiralty. The judgment, which was printed in Blue-book form, took three hours in the delivery. In the course of this elaborate exposition, the venerable judge stated that the value of the booty captured by Sir Hugh Rose at Jhansi, Calpee, and Gwalior, amounted to £49,000; that taken at Banda and Kirwee by Sir George Whitlock's force was valued at £700,000; while the third column, the Rajpootana field force, under Sir

* Sir R. Levinge's *Records of the 43rd Regiment*.

H. Roberts, became the captors of prize of the estimated value of £18,200. For the distribution of this property it had been proposed that the whole proceeds should be thrown into a common fund, and be divided equally among the forces under the command of the three gallant generals named above, but the prize agents of Sir G. Whitlock's force had preferred a claim that the property captured at Banda and Kirwee should be granted exclusively to that force. Claims to participate were preferred by the executors of the late Lord Clyde, as Commander-in-chief, on behalf of himself and his personal staff.; by Sir Hugh Rose, on the ground of his force having co-operated in the actions or movements of the troops which led to the capture; also by Generals Smith and Roberts, Colonel Middleton, Major Osborne, Political Agent at Rewah, Colonel Hinde, in command of the Rewah levies, Colonel Keatinge, and others.

The great principle which is recognised as the basis of the prize law is, that all booty taken in war belongs absolutely to the Crown, but for more than a century and a half the Crown has granted the prize to the captors. The claims of all the above officers—as also of General Wheeler, in command of the Saugor district and garrison, of General Carthew and the Futtehpore movable column, of General Maxwell in command of another column operating on the Doab—were disallowed, with the exception of that of Lord Clyde and staff, and of Colonel Keatinge and the 50th Regiment, for the reason that, although the corps was at Saugor till after the capture of Kirwee, yet while there it was, as it had been at Jubbulpore, encamped and equipped in readiness for any immediate march that might be ordered by General Whitlock, and formed, therefore, part of his division.

On the 28th March, 1867, nine years after its capture, the long-expected order for the payment of the first instalment of the booty, was issued by the Governor-General, as follows:—“The Banda and Kirwee prize money is payable to the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde, and Head Quarters' Staff, who were in the field between the 19th April and 6th June, 1858, and to the troops of the Saugor and Nerbudda field force who were under the immediate orders of Major-General Sir G. C. Whitlock, K.C.B., between those dates.” The troops entitled to share were two troops of Madras Horse Artillery, one company of Royal, and three of Madras, Foot Artillery; one company of Madras Sappers, a wing of the 12th Lancers, and a detachment from the 2nd Cavalry of the Hyderabad Contingent; Her Majesty's 43rd, and the 3rd Madras Europeans; and the 1st, 19th, and 50th Regiments of Madras Native Infantry.

It may be mentioned that the costs of this long-protracted suit up to the date of this order, were no less than £60,000. The share of Lord Clyde, as Commander-in-Chief, was also about the same sum, while that of Sir G. Whitlock, the actual captor, was not more than £12,000. Early in 1868, a Prize Committee, appointed by the officers of the Nerbudda field force, set to work in earnest to ascertain the value of the spoil acquired at the capture of Kirwee; and not a whit too soon, for the Government of India had attempted to subtract £52,325 from the prize fund, in order to cover a deficiency to that amount of land revenue, said to have been plundered by rebels in the Banda district. But the Secretary of State, Sir Stafford Northcote, took counsel with the law officers of the Crown on this question, and set aside this unjustifiable act of the authorities at Calcutta, who, however, appropriated no less than £256,000, a sum which represented the debt due to the ex-chiefs of Kirwee by the East India Company and by private debtors. The Prize Committee submitted their claim for this property to some eminent jurists, and received a favourable opinion, signed by five counsel of high legal attainments; but the Government resisted the claimants, and doubtless much is to be said against the captors' contention. But the wranglings of lawyers soon ceased personally to affect the general who led the forces that captured this valuable prize, for Sir George Whitlock had reached that "bourne whence no traveller returns."

On his return from India, he resided, up to the date of his death, at Exmouth, in his native county of Devonshire. He remained in tolerable health till the commencement of the winter of 1867, when he was attacked with paralysis, and, after much suffering, expired on the 30th January, 1868, leaving a widow, with three daughters and two sons, to mourn his loss.

The subject of this memoir was a brave soldier and an honourable man; and though he cannot be regarded as taking high rank as a soldier, the name of Sir George Whitlock may not unworthily be placed among those of India's distinguished generals.

COLONEL SIR CHARLES K. PEARSON, C.B., K.C.M.G.

On Service in the Crimea—In Command of the Buffs—Anecdotes of Colonel Pearson—Proceeds to South Africa—The Zulu War—The Action of Inyezani—The defence of Etshowe—Return to England.

AMONG the names of officers who have come to the front during the Zulu War, few are more prominent than that at the head of this page. The defence of Etshowe, like the defence of Jellalabad by "the illustrious garrison," under Sir Robert Sale, in the Afghan War, did much to retrieve from the general imputation of disaster the first phase of the war, which was brought to a close by the relief of that post by Lord Chelmsford. Unlike the defence to which we have likened it, there was no repulse of continued attacks by the enemy, crowned by a victory similar to the brilliant affair of the 7th April, 1842, which broke up the investment by Akbar Khan's army, but we cannot soon forget the painful suspense in which not only the friends of those cooped up within the earth-walls of the fort, but the entire country, awaited the intelligence of their succour by Lord Chelmsford, and the sense of relief with which that news was received. The defence of Etshowe, though unrelieved by such achievements, is, nevertheless, creditable in a high degree to those who maintained it at a time of disaster and demoralisation, and as the commander throughout those long and weary weeks, Sir Charles Pearson has earned an honourable name in our military annals.

The subject of this memoir received his first commission in the army, as Ensign in the 31st Regiment, on the 23rd November, 1852, and, on the 15th June, three years later, obtained his lieutenantancy. The 31st Regiment arrived in the Crimea on the 22nd May, 1855, towards the close of the siege of Sebastopol, and Lieutenant Pearson served as its adjutant from the 3rd September. He was thus fortunate enough

to be present at the final assault and capture of that great fortress, which took place on the 8th September; but the 31st Regiment did not take a prominent part in the events of that disastrous day. It formed a part of the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division, which, with the Highland Division, under Sir Colin Campbell, was formed up during the assault in that part of the third parallel which was in communication with the French right attack, and in the Middle Ravine. The regiment lost one officer killed in the trenches before the assault took place, and two men wounded. Lieutenant Pearson served in the Crimea until the conclusion of peace, and returned to England with the rank of Captain, to which he was gazetted on the 15th February, 1856. Captain Pearson received the war medal with clasp for Sebastopol, and the Turkish medal.

At this early period in his career he had earned a reputation as a gallant and promising officer, but, nevertheless, owing to reductions on the signature of peace, he found himself placed on half-pay. However, he was not long suffered to waste his energies in an irksome idleness, and, in the following year, when the 2nd battalion of the Buffs was raised, he was appointed to a captaincy in the regiment, with which his name has ever since been so honourably associated.

Captain Pearson joined the Staff College when it was first reconstituted out of the old senior department, but though possessed of good capacity, he failed to pass the examination in mathematics, though, in justice to him, it should be noted that the test in this branch of study was unnecessarily high, and was soon after lowered to its present standard. But those were the days of purchase, and as, in too many instances, incompetent but wealthy officers passed over the heads of others of greater merit and professional knowledge, but deficient in means, so the case of Captain Pearson should be noted as an instance where money was of service in promoting an officer of undoubted capacity. Being possessed of means, and the officers of his regiment being poor, he passed, as a Captain, over the heads of four comrades, and as a Major, to which he was gazetted on the 2nd of May, 1865, over two, and thus became a Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding a battalion, on the 14th of August, 1867, having less than fifteen years' service.

Though during the period of this rapid advancement, he was not fortunate enough to see active service, yet Colonel Pearson proved himself worthy his fortune, and his reputation at the Horse Guards stood high as one of the best commanding officers in the army. Inspecting generals reported highly of

the state of discipline of the 2nd battalion of Buffs, and, during the years it was on home duty, it gave no trouble to the local or military authorities. What was even more gratifying, when an occasion arose to show the good effects of careful training and constant attention to discipline, the battalion displayed the military virtues of steadiness and obedience, without which a body of soldiers is no better than a mob of rustics.

A story is told of him when serving as a Captain in the Buffs at Gibraltar, which indicates the reputation he bore as a young officer, for stubborn determination to do his duty:—One night, whilst on duty at the main guard, a well-known and wealthy Gibraltar tradesman was brought up as a prisoner before him for walking through the streets late in the evening "without a light and a permit," this indulgence only being permitted to officers of the garrison. The civilian blustered and fumed, and threatened Pearson with all the terrors of the civil law if he were not immediately released. "Keep quiet," said the little Captain, "or you must be locked up." This, however, only exasperated the tradesman, who angrily shook his fist at the assembled guard. "Lock him up," said Pearson, to the serjeant, "and see that he cleans out his cell in the morning,"—a duty always performed by the prisoners. The infuriated "scorpion," as natives of "the rock" are called in the service, was dragged below to the cells, thundering anathemas against the British army generally, and upon Pearson in particular. In the early morning a message was brought to the Captain of the guard, that the prisoner was anxious to capitulate—or, in other words, was ready to apologise. "Bring him up," said Pearson, laconically, and the dishevelled tradesman was escorted to the sitting-room of the officers on guard. "I have come to apologise for——" he began. "You can go, sir," said Pearson, waving his hand, adding, "assuredly if you had not apologised to the guard, I should have made you sweep out the cell you slept in."

In 1876 the Buffs proceeded to the Cape, under the command of Colonel Pearson, and, when within a few hours of port, the transport on board which the battalion was embarked, struck on a sunken rock. Though the ship made water so fast that the position was alarming, perfect discipline was maintained while preparations were made for disembarkation. A writer says of the scene on board the transport: "There was not the slightest excitement or confusion on board. The men paraded promptly but silently, fully equipped, and completely

under control. Colonel Pearson himself passed quietly along the ranks, as they stood immovable upon the deck, giving his orders with as much *sang froid* as though he was in the barrack yard, and not on a sinking ship. Happily the transport held together until every man had left her side, and the disembarkation was successfully carried out—thanks to the perfect order and admirable discipline which obtained—within a few hours, and without the loss of a single life. He who can be thus cool and collected in the presence of death, who in such a moment of supreme danger can infuse his own calm, courageous spirit into the breasts of the hundreds who have surrendered to him their own volition, must assuredly possess some of the finest qualities of the true leader of men. It is our not unjustifiable boast that British soldiers have always done, and always will do, their duty; but when commanded by one in whose judgment and indomitable nerve they have full confidence, they will neither be carried away by hysterical confusion, nor cast down by sudden panic and despair, and will accomplish great deeds." A not less remarkable instance of the effect discipline and reliance on his officers will have on the soldier who has only recently been recruited, has been afforded in the case of the *Clyde*, wrecked during the Zulu war, while conveying a draft of men for the ill-fated 24th Regiment. But neither of these instances of the devotion and discipline of the British soldier, equals that afforded in the memorable case of the *Birkenhead*, which also occurred singularly enough near the Cape, and not many miles from the scene of the disaster to the *Clyde*. That sublime example of heroism, where 438 officers and men perished, has not done less to raise the British soldier in the estimation of the world, than the stubborn valour he displayed at Waterloo, Inkerman, and in numberless glorious fields.

Passing over the services of Colonel Pearson during the early part of the war in South Africa, which were of a desultory character, we arrive at the time, early in January of the present year, when, the preparations for the invasion of Zululand being completed, Lord Chelmsford gave the order for the columns to cross the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers. In the plan of campaign Colonel Pearson received command of No. 1 column,* operating

* This column consisted of the following detail of staff and troops:—Orderly Officer, Lieutenant Knight, 3rd Foot; Principal Staff Officer, Brevet-Colonel Walker, C.B., Scots Guards; General Staff Duties, Captain McGregor, 29th Foot; Transport Duties, Captain Pelly Clarke, 103rd Foot; Senior Commissariat Officer, Assistant Commissary Heygate; Sub-District Paymaster, Paymaster Gorges; Senior Medical Officer, Surgeon-Major Tarrant, Corps—Royal Artillery, two 7-pounders (mule), Lieutenant Lloyd; Royal Engineers, No. 2 company, Captain Wynne; 2nd Battalion

on the Lower Tugela, which, it was considered, would have to bear the brunt of the Zulu attack. The total strength of the column was:—20 staff and departments; 23 Royal Artillery, with 4 7-pounders, 1 Gatlin gun, 2 rocket-tubes, and 1 trough; 1,517 British infantry, 312 cavalry, 2,256 Native Contingent. Total—4,750 officers and men.

On Sunday, the 12th January, 1879, No. 1 column, under Colonel Pearson, conformably with the instructions of Lord Chelmsford, crossed the Tugela, and stood upon the soil of the enemy. This was a work of some difficulty, as the Tugela, at this spot, was about 300 yards wide, and ran with great rapidity, but Commander Campbell, R.N., to whom was entrusted the duty, performed it with success, only one man, a seaman of the *Active*, being drowned. The first operation was to build a fort on the left bank, opposite to Fort Pearson, which received the name of Fort Tenedos, from H.M. ship of that name. This completed, on Saturday, the 18th January, the column commenced its march inland, the Buffs, Naval Brigade, cavalry, and some native levies forming the advance, while the 99th Regiment, with the remainder of the mounted men and Native Contingent, followed about three hours later. After a short march the column halted for the day, and camp was pitched, but it rained all night, and the troops were glad to continue their march on the following day. They waded through the Umsindusi River, here about four-and-a-half feet deep, and camped on the other side. The troops halted on the 20th, and Colonel Pearson sent on ahead two companies to repair the track. On the following day the march was resumed, and a weary one it was, as marching appears always to be in Zululand, where there is no road, only a track, which, during the wet season, is a sea of mud, in which the waggons flounder axle deep. The Amatakula River, which had a depth of about four feet, was crossed by the rearguard at 10 a.m.; at 2 p.m. they halted till 5, and then joined the advanced column about three-quarters of a mile ahead, where the camp was formed. Though the column had worked hard, they had not covered more than seven miles of ground in as

3rd Foot, Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Parnell; 99th Foot (6 companies), Lieutenant-Colonel Welman; Naval Brigade, from the *Active* and *Tenedos*, Commander Campbell, R.N.; No. 2 squad Mounted Infantry, Captain Barrow, 19th Hussars; Natal Hussars, Captain Newton; Durban Mounted Rifles, Captain Shepstone; Alexandra Mounted Rifles, Captain Arbuthnot; Stanger Mounted Rifles, Captain Addison; Victoria Mounted Rifles, Captain Sauer; 2nd Regiment Native Contingent, Major Graves, 3rd Foot; (Staff Officer, Captain Hart, 31st Foot; 1st Battalion, Major Graves; 2nd Battalion, Commandant Nettleton); No. 2 company Natal Native Pioneer Corps, Captain Beddoes.

many hours, owing to the halts called every few hundred yards to assist the transport.

The march was continued on the 22nd January, in the usual order, Captain Barrow, with the mounted troops, being ahead. This day, memorable in South African annals as that on which took place the disastrous action of Isandlana, was not to pass away without the Zulus, victorious at one end of the line, receiving a severe lesson from Colonel Pearson's column.

Captain Barrow, having crossed the Inyezani River, about four miles from the camping-ground of the previous night, selected a halting-place, and sent word back to Colonel Pearson, who rode up, and finding that there was more bush than was desirable, decided to "outspan" for two hours, and continue the march after the men had breakfasted and the oxen were rested. It was about eight o'clock, and he was in the act of giving instructions as to the pickets, when smart firing was heard, and he learned that the enemy were advancing in considerable force, and had engaged a company of the native levies, under Captain Hart, who were scouting ahead, and almost immediately one officer, four non-commissioned officers, and three men were killed. Colonel Pearson at once directed the Naval Brigade, under Commander Campbell, two companies of the Buffs, under Captain Jackson and Lieutenant Martin, and the guns, under Lieutenant Lloyd, to take up a position on a knoll free from bush, to the left, close by the road. This the troops did in good style, and lay down about ten yards from the crest. "The bush," writes an officer of the Buffs, "lay stretched in front of us on a low plain, out of which the Zulus were keeping up a good fire. The two guns and the two rocket-tubes of the Naval Brigade were just behind us on the crest of the hill, firing over our heads. The Zulus fought splendidly, for they kept up the fire out of the bush for two hours, while we were pouring volleys into them from the hill at 300 yards."

At this time Colonel Pearson, with his staff, and Colonel Parnell, commanding the Buffs, were standing by the guns, and both officers had their horses shot under them. Meanwhile the waggons were being parked as they came up, and as soon as this had been partially done, Colonel Pearson directed two companies of the Buffs, under Captains Harrison and Wyld, guided by Captain Macgregor, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, to clear the enemy out of the bush, which had been shelled and fired into from the knoll already mentioned; this they did with great spirit, and the Zulus were quickly driven into the open, where they were more exposed to the fire of our men.

Their retreat released the troops protecting the waggons near the Inyezani, consisting of the cavalry under Captain Barrow and Captain Wynne's company of engineers, which now moved forward, supported by a half-company of Buffs and a half-company of the 99th Regiment, sent out by Colonel Welman, commanding the rear of the column. But the Zulus had plenty of fight in them yet, and about this time put in practice their favourite tactics of outflanking. Seeing this, Commander Campbell offered 'to go with a portion of the Naval Brigade to drive away a body of the enemy who, in order to assist in their turning movement, had occupied a kraal about 400 yards from the knoll. This was done in good style, the sailors and marines being supported by a party of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Naval Contingent, under Captain Hart, and, soon after, acting on Commander Campbell's suggestion, Colonel Pearson sent the Naval Brigade, with Captain Foster's company of the Buffs, to attack some heights beyond the kraal where a large body of the enemy had taken post. The Zulus were quickly driven off, and soon the entire body were in full retreat.

The action lasted from 8 till 9.30, and, by noon, the column had reformed, and was on the march. They bivouacked at 2.30, for the night, at a spot about four miles beyond the scene of the action, having traversed some very steep hills, which caused severe labour to both oxen and men, as the day was extremely hot. Colonel Pearson calculated the force of the enemy at 4,000, exclusive of 650 men of the district. Over 300 bodies were found, but the Zulu loss was not less than 400, besides the wounded, of whom only two were discovered, the rest having either been carried off or hid in the bush. "The dead," says Colonel Pearson in his despatch, "were lying about in heaps of seven or eight, and in one place ten dead bodies were found lying close together; at another, thirty-five were counted within a very small space." The British loss was small, being only ten killed and sixteen wounded. Of the former, one officer, four non-commissioned officers, and three men belonging to the Native Contingent, who were killed when the enemy first opened fire.

At five in the morning of the 23rd January, the column marched, and reached Etshowe at 1 p.m., after an arduous day for the draught cattle. This place, which has now become famous, was a Norwegian mission station, containing a small church, two small houses and a workshop. It was untenanted by any white man, the missionaries having left when affairs had

become complicated. Scarcely had they arrived at Etshowe when news was received of the disaster at Isandlana, from Lord Chelmsford, who directed that no further offensive movement should be made by Colonel Pearson, but left it to his discretion either to hold the fort or retire into Natal. In his official despatch Colonel Pearson says:—"I at once assembled my staff and company officers, and laid the position of affairs before them, and requested them to give me their opinions unreservedly. Some were for retiring, while others most strongly opposed any retrograde movement. Personally I was in favour of retiring at first, as I believed, until further reinforcements could arrive from home, that the presence of every available soldier would be necessary in Natal to protect the colony from wholesale raids by the Zulus; but, on further reflection, I judged that if we continued to hold our forward position in the country—nearly forty miles from the frontier—it might have a good moral effect, and even afford protection to that part of the colony immediately behind us; at any rate, we should be keeping a certain force of the enemy watching us, which could not therefore be available elsewhere. Having satisfied myself that we were sufficiently supplied with ammunition for our present wants, it was finally decided to remain at Etshowe, and to fortify ourselves as strongly as possible."

Here it should be noted, in justice to a gallant officer recently deceased, Captain W. R. C. Wynne, commanding the Royal Engineers of the column, that it was chiefly through his arguments that Colonel Pearson was induced to remain in occupation of Etshowe. To this officer is due a debt of gratitude from all those who value the prestige and honour of our arms, while it is certain that had the troops retired, they would have been attacked in force by the Zulu warriors, who were then in the first flush of their triumph at Isandlana, and, in all probability, must have suffered heavily in loss of men and *matériel*. A distinguished officer of the force writes in a private letter:—"At Etshowe a council of war, attended by the commanders of regiments, was held to deliberate on the propriety of evacuating the place. Wynne and Lloyd alone raised their voices against the proposal. Wynne explained that the work could be made impregnable, notwithstanding its unfavourable position, by a few days' labour, and that the convoy then recently brought in made them secure, as regards provisions, for a long time. He was most strenuous in his opposition, and on Colonel Walker and Captain Macgregor coming in, they both supported Wynne's views, and, though in

a minority, they carried their point. There can be no doubt that if a retreat had been decided on, Natal would have been invaded." Commander Campbell, R.N., is also entitled to credit as one of the few who were from the first in favour of holding out. The view that, had the post been evacuated, Natal would have been invaded, receives confirmation from Colonel Pearson in the extract from his report already quoted.

It is strange how history repeats itself. The circumstances attending the decision to defend Etshowe, are similar to those of the memorable defence of Jellalabad. In 1841, as now, Sir Robert Sale, the commander of the garrison, and a majority of the council of war he convened to consider the question, were in favour of retiring to Peshawur, but as in 1879, the officer in command of the engineers (Captain G. Broadfoot) led the opposition, and he was seconded by the officer commanding the artillery (Captain A. Abbott), and one or two others, and ultimately they carried the day.

No. 1 column had started from Fort Tenedos with only fifteen days' provisions, but soon after their arrival at Etshowe, Colonel Ely, of the 99th, arrived with a further supply for two months. This welcome addition to their stock of food was due to the energy and foresight of Commissary-General Strickland, who, on his own responsibility, sent the stores after the column, and thus enabled them to hold out. In order to make his stock last longer, Colonel Pearson sent back the whole of his mounted troops, together with the Native Contingent. Before doing so he instituted a rigorous search for private stores in their waggons, and thus secured a large supply of food, medicines, and medical comforts, the latter being of the greatest use to the troops. All articles of luxury, as matches, tobacco, &c., were handed over to the commissariat dépôt, and were eventually sold by auction, producing fabulous prices. Thus, four shillings was paid for a box of matches, fifteen shillings for a bottle of pickles, and tobacco was sold for thirty shillings a pound. The whole of these articles of luxury, valued at £7, fetched over £100. On an examination being made of the stores, which were all placed in the Mission Station building, which just sufficed to contain them, it was found that a large quantity of biscuit and flour was unfit for food, being, according to the official report, "rotten." This necessitated a reduction of 10 per cent. in the allowance of these stores, but on the recommendation of the medical officer, for a period of ten days a full ration was served; and so carefully were the supplies husbanded that, on the relief of the fort on the 3rd April, it was found that there were

sufficient necessities to enable them to hold out for one week, such articles as sugar and preserved vegetables alone being exhausted. This was a sufficiently narrow margin, for had the reinforcements from Ceylon and England not arrived as promptly as they did, and the small column detailed in the first instance to attempt the relief, under Colonel Law, R.A., been driven back—a by no means improbable contingency—the position of the garrison would have at once become critical. The only necessary that the column had soon exhausted was medicine, and the condition of the large number of sick, over 100, without any drugs, was deplorable; to the same cause was due, in a measure, the large number of deaths—four officers and twenty-one men, who lie buried in the little cemetery close to the works they raised and defended.

The first precaution to be taken on arrival at Etshowe, was to render the post defensible, and work was at once commenced by the entire garrison, under the direction of Captain Wynne, R.E. By the middle of February the post was quite secure, and Colonel Pearson could report that he felt convinced they “could have repelled an attack by any number of Zulus.” Indeed, the garrison entertained such a sense of security behind their entrenchments and other works, that many fervent hopes were expressed that the enemy would “knock their heads” against the walls of Etshowe. But the Zulus were too wise to attempt impossibilities, and the days and weeks passed uneventfully, only relieved by raids and foraging expeditions in the neighbourhood, or by alarms during the night. Colonel Pearson remained mostly on the defensive, having only a handful of cavalry, consisting of a few mounted infantry and Natal volunteers, organized into a vedette corps, by Lieutenant Rowden, 99th Regiment, and Captain Sherrington, of the Native Contingent. He managed, however, to burn all the military kraals in the vicinity, and sent foraging parties to the nearest mealie-fields and pumpkin gardens. On the 1st March he started at 2.30 a.m. with 450 men and one gun, for the kraal of Dabulemanzi, half-brother of Cetewayo, seven miles from Etshowe, which was completely surprised, though the Zulus managed to escape to the neighbouring hills with slight loss. The kraal, consisting of fifty huts, was destroyed, besides three others which were burnt on the return march, the Zulus following up the British column, but not in great force.

For the first few weeks the troops found plenty of occupation in constructing the earthworks, and they were at work even on the 3rd April, the day of their deliverance by Lord Chelmsford.

The orange groves, cultivated with so much care by Bishop Afterbro, of the Swedish Mission, were cut down, and the gardens destroyed in forming the earthworks; the church was surrounded by regular fortifications and a moat, the bottom of which was spiked, the only entrance being by means of a draw-bridge. When sickness began to increase, measures were taken to preserve the health of the men by proper sanitary arrangements. Those of the hospital patients who could bear removal, were taken daily to a shelter, constructed of boughs of trees, on an eminence near the fort. Thus they obtained abundance of fresh air, while the church, which was used as a hospital, was purified. Colonel Pearson says in his report:—"At first the health of the troops was extremely good, but before the end of February, the percentage of sick had largely increased, and, when we were relieved on the 4th April, there were nine officers and nearly 100 men on the sick list. Some of them are still seriously ill, and four deaths have occurred since we left Etshowe." The chief disorders were diarrhoea, dysentery, and fevers of different types. No doubt much of the sickness was attributable to the constant wet weather and the overcrowding in the fort, the work having been constructed for a much smaller garrison.

As regards shelter, there was only room for a very few tents in addition to those required for hospital purposes, and officers and men lived under the waggon, over which tarpaulins were spread, propped up with tent-poles. Thus, the waggon being all round the parapets, the troops actually lived at their alarm posts, and could be on the banquettes in a few seconds.

The most irksome feature in their position was the deprivation of letters from England, and the absence of news from their comrades, only forty miles distant. Some native runners were despatched, tempted with the promise of large rewards, but the poor fellows paid for their temerity with their lives, and all attempts to communicate from either end were abandoned as fruitless. However, by the messages flashed by the heliograph, they were informed that a force was being collected for their relief, but it was evident that the enemy were equally well informed, both as to the limited supply of food in Etshowe and the efforts being made to collect a relief column, for they concentrated greater numbers in the Inyezani valley, which glowed at night with the watch-fires of a large force. The vedettes, who were constantly under fire, and of whom one man was killed and another severely wounded, also reported that large bodies of Zulus were seen filing down the distant hills towards the

Inyezani river. Notwithstanding their numbers and vicinity to Ulundi, the king's kraal, it is strange that the enemy made no attempt, either by day or night, to attack the fort, or even the laager close to the works, where the cattle were herded. There were some alarms during the night, but they proved in every instance without foundation, though the alacrity with which the parapets were manned, showed that the garrison was always on the alert. The practice was every night, or during foggy weather, to withdraw the outposts, when each company furnished a guard, with two or more sentries, and the natives, whose eyesight was exceptionally good, were distributed along the parapets. At length the day of deliverance arrived.

During the march of the relieving column from the Lower Tugela to Etshowe, Colonel Pearson kept up communication with Lord Chelmsford by means of the heliograph, and, on the 2nd April, congratulated him by signal on his victory at Ginghilova, the incidents of which they had watched with the anxiety natural to men whose very existence depended on the result. A correspondent who accompanied Lord Chelmsford, describes as follows the last few miles of the road between Ginghilova and Etshowe: "We were now on the ridge leading to Etshowe. Up the steep ascent the track wound and turned in a manner which, had the Zulus chosen, would have rendered it peculiarly easy to defend. It was narrow, too, and in places not more than six soldiers, sometimes even less, could advance abreast, while, on either side below, there were deep, dark kloofs* and dense cover capable of concealing a dozen 'impis.' Fortunately there were none there. Here and there the enemy had dug away and destroyed parts of the road. As we neared Etshowe we passed at intervals eight waggon abandoned by Pearson's column in their hurried march. The linch-pins had been taken out, but otherwise they were undestroyed. Nearer still we could see outlookers on the hill, waving a welcome to us as we approached."

During the afternoon of the 3rd April, seeing the relief approaching, Colonel Pearson, accompanied by his staff, sallied out of Etshowe with some companies of the 99th and a portion of the Naval Brigade, and, about five o'clock, met Lord Chelmsford, when a cordial greeting took place between the relieved and their deliverers. On the following day Etshowe was evacuated, Lord Chelmsford having decided, owing to the difficult nature of the latter part of the road, to abandon the post and establish another at some point on the coast road,

* A kloof is a wooded ravine or valley.

which was subsequently done, the fort being named after his lordship. This determination was received with no little concern by the garrison, who had worked so hard at its defences, which were a model of what such should be ; but it was, doubtless, a wise resolve, and, on the 4th April, Colonel Pearson brought away every waggon and all the stores, with the assistance of some spans of oxen brought by the Commander-in-Chief from his camp, many of his own having either died or been killed to serve as food. Colonel Pearson formed a laager about five miles from Etshowe, and, on the 5th, when Lord Chelmsford left Etshowe, the two columns separated, his lordship proceeding by Ginghilova, and Colonel Pearson by the direct track to the lower Tugela. Two days later the late Etshowe garrison arrived at Fort Tenedos.

Speaking of the conduct of those under his command throughout their somewhat trying detention, Colonel Pearson says : " I am proud to state that, without exception, no officer, non-commissioned officer, or private behaved otherwise than with credit to the British army. From first to last the men showed an excellent spirit, the highest discipline was maintained, and the reduction of the food was never grumbled at, or regarded in any other light than a necessity and a privation to be borne, and which they were determined to bear cheerfully." Colonel Pearson, on his return to Natal, learned of his appointment to the local rank of Brigadier-General, a well-earned reward for his past service, and prepared to refit his column, which was to form one of the two brigades of Major-General Crealock's division, the second being commanded by Colonel Pemberton, of the 60th Rifles ; but he was prostrated by an attack of fever, and for some weeks was incapacitated for any work. Some of the officers and men who had served under his orders were also seized with illness, and a few died, including Captain Wynne, R.E. During his prolonged illness in Fort Etshowe, this officer was patient and hopeful, giving his orders, as he lay fever-stricken in a covered waggon, and continuing his diary to within ten days of his death. When Etshowe was relieved, he was removed in a cart to the Tugela river, but the jolting over the rough roads proved too much for him, and he died two days after his arrival.* Mention should also be made of the officers

* In a despatch published in the *Gazette* of May 16th, while deploring Captain Wynne's condition, Colonel Pearson remarks that " he was a most valuable officer, and that his illness was entirely due to over-exertion, while in indifferent health." Private letters from brother officers bear abundant testimony to Captain Wynne's energy and devotion to duty, as well as to his popularity and private virtues. One of these officers says, " He was the moving spirit in the engineer work at Etshowe,

commanding corps—Lieutenant-Colonel Parnell, 3rd Buffs, Colonel Welman, 99th Regiment, Commander Campbell, R.N., Naval Brigade, and Lieutenant Lloyd, Royal Artillery—also of those able and indefatigable officers of the staff, Colonel Walker, C.B., Scots Guards (a worthy son of a gallant father, General Sir Walter Walker, K.C.B.), and Captain H. G. Macgregor, 29th Regiment, a very promising soldier.

Of the value of the defence of Etshowe from a military point of view, Lord Chelmsford says: "I am much indebted to Colonel Pearson for so tenaciously holding on to Etshowe after the bad news of the Isandlana affair had reached him. The occupation of that post, and of that one held by Colonel Evelyn Wood, during a time of considerable anxiety, had no doubt a very powerful moral effect through South Africa, and diminished the effect of what would otherwise have been considered as a complete collapse of our invasion of Zululand." There is no doubt that this estimate of the good moral effect of the retention of Etshowe, is quite correct, and we must admire the candour of Lord Chelmsford in describing the state of affairs, so far as the invasion of Zululand is concerned, after the Isandlana disaster, as a "complete collapse."

The subject of this memoir is thus described in a military journal:—"In person Colonel Pearson is rather below the middle height. Light and active in figure, there is an energy and briskness in all his movements which plainly shows how eager is the spirit within him. A sort of bulldog earnestness and unwavering determination is one of his distinctive traits. He is endowed with a large amount of practical common sense, and gifted with much discernment, is of a cheerful temperament, and has a pleasant address. Firm and conscientious in exercising command, he maintains discipline and insists upon due obedience to his orders, without risking his reputation as a martinet or an oppressor. He has, moreover, great natural powers of organisation, is fertile in resource and quick to utilise the means at his disposal. How fully these qualities have served him must be evident to all who have read his despatches and the detailed reports of his proceedings at Etshowe. His intrepid spirit shines out in every line; his caution and foresight are proved by the minute care with which he made his dispositions and fortified his stronghold against attack."

a general favourite, and a truly godly man"—another that "his work at Etshowe will not soon be forgotten, and that the stand made there, which, humanly speaking, cost him his life, was mainly due to his advice."

His health not being sufficiently restored, Colonel Pearson was compelled to return to England without participating in the final operations of the Zulu campaign, resulting in the victory of Ulundi and dispersion of the Zulu army.

On the 6th October, soon after his arrival in England, his county friends presented him with a sword, at Yeovil, in testimony of his services; but Colonel Pearson set his face against being lionised, and when he spoke in public his speeches were as brief as modest. Her Majesty was pleased to confer the C.B., and the ribbon of the Order of St. Michael and George on the gallant officer, in recognition of important services rendered to one of the colonies, an honour, the bestowal of which was received with unanimous approval by his countrymen, which cannot be said in the case of all the recipients. Sir Charles Pearson has increased the reputation he had already acquired, by his services in Zululand, and his countrymen look forward with confidence to his future military career.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE H. MACGREGOR,
K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

PART I.

Early Service in India—On Political Employ to the Court of Runjeet Singh—The Afghan War—Services as Political Assistant to Sir William Macnaghten—The Expeditions to Kujjah, Peshoot, and Zoormut—With Sir Robert Sale in forcing the Passes to Gundanuck—The Defence of Jellalabad—The Expedition to the Shinwarree Valley—Accompanies Sir George Pollock to Cabul as Political Officer—Return to India.

SIR GEORGE HALL MACGREGOR is the son of General J. A. P. Macgregor, of Sussex Place, Hyde Park, by the second daughter of James Burdett-Ness, Esq., and was born in the year 1810. He was educated at the Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary of Addiscombe—a famous "Alma Mater," that has trained a noble succession of distinguished soldiers,—and, in the year 1826, received his commission as Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery. Young Macgregor arrived in India in 1827, and did duty with that corps, or on the general staff of the Army until appointed aide-de-camp to the new Governor-General, Lord Auckland, in the early part of the year 1836. During this period of nine years, his life had been uneventful, for India was buried in a state of almost profound peace. But though this period is uneventful as regards any wars waged, or territories annexed, it is memorable in the annals of India as a time of material progress and improvement, unexampled in the previous history of that country, and only equalled by the term of office of the last of the old Company's Viceroys, the late Lord Lawrence.

From 1828 to 1835, Lord William Bentinck worthily filled the seat of Warren Hastings and Wellesley, and from the latter year until the date of Lord Auckland's assumption of office

(the 20th March, 1836), Sir Charles Metcalfe, not less creditably to himself, discharged the high duties of the post. But all this was to be changed, and a long period of wars, chequered by disaster, though, in every instance crowned with success, succeeded to the profound peace of the previous decade. Lord Auckland's administration was almost exclusively occupied with the Afghan Expedition, and the results attending it may be summed up in a few words. Besides the enormous loss of men in the sterile passes and amidst the snows of Afghanistan, and the almost equally damaging loss of prestige, his term of government, which commenced with a surplus revenue of a crore and a half of rupees, closed with a deficit of two millions, exclusive of a large addition to the debt. Lieutenant Macgregor was engaged as Political Assistant, in conducting the negotiations which preceded our war with Dost Mahomed, the ruler of Afghanistan.

Shah Soojah, the exiled Ameer of Cabul, who was living at Loodiana, in British territory, and a pensioner on the Company, made an attempt in 1833, assisted by Runjeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjaub, to recover his throne, but was unsuccessful, and had to retire to his old asylum and his pensionary condition at Loodiana in March, 1835. "The Lion of the Punjaub," as Runjeet was called, alone benefited by this expedition, which acted as a diversion and enabled him to conquer and annex the territory of Peshawur from the Afghans. In the meantime, Russia had been extending her influence in Central Asia, and, through her intrigues, induced Persia to lay siege to the town of Herat, which has ever been considered the key of Afghanistan. To counteract Russian influence and raise a barrier against Muscovite aggression, Lord Auckland resolved to substitute a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and with this object decided to dethrone Dost Mahomed, the then Ameer of Cabul, and place in his stead Shah Soojah, who, it was thought, would be more pliable. To effect this, the Governor-General sent Mr. Macnaghten on a mission to Lahore, to obtain the concurrence of Runjeet Singh in this project, and Lieutenant Macgregor was associated with the Envoy in this mission in the capacity of assistant. His instructions included points of a more extended character than those embraced in the Governor-General's Minute of the 12th May, and proposed that while the Sikhs advanced cautiously on Cabul, a division of the British Army should accompany Shah Soojah across the Indus and occupy, for a time, the town of Shikarpore.

Mr. Macnaghten entered the Punjaub on the 30th May, 1838,

and was received with great cordiality by Runjeet Singh, then in the last year of his existence, and whose great powers were already dimmed by the mists of approaching dissolution.

After some negotiation, in which Runjeet proved himself a wily opponent, he affixed his seal to the treaty. Mr. Macnaghten then proceeded to Loodiana, and, of course, had no difficulty in obtaining the concurrence of Shah Soojah to arrangements by which he was to gain everything at the expense of the British Government. The Envoy, unhappily too successful in his mission, then returned to Simla, where he arrived, on the 17th July, with the document known as the Tripartite Treaty. On the 1st October, Lord Auckland issued his famous manifesto setting forth the causes that had induced him to undertake an expedition, the general object of which was described to be to secure on our western frontier an ally who was interested in resisting aggression, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a foreign power, while the immediate intention was "to succour the besieged garrison of Herat, who had behaved with a gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause." There are many glaring misstatements in this important state paper, among others one in which Dost Mahomed was accused of having avowed schemes of aggrandisement and ambition injurious to the peace and security of the frontiers of India, and of having given his undisguised support to the designs of the Shah of Persia on Afghanistan, when it was known that this monarch was the tool of Russia, whereas the important fact was withheld that the Dost had accepted the Persian alliance against his own will, and only after the failure of the most strenuous efforts to secure British support.

In the meantime Herat, to which the Shah in person, with 50,000 men and 50 pieces of cannon, had laid siege on the 23rd November, 1837, had been defended with the utmost gallantry by its inhabitants, led and inspired by the genius of Eldred Pottinger, a subaltern in the Bombay Artillery, and the King of Persia had to break up his encampment on the 9th September, 1838, and return to his kingdom, baffled and disgraced. Notwithstanding this event, Lord Auckland resolved to carry out his original design, and an army was collected at Ferozepore on the banks of the Sutlej. It assembled towards the end of November, and was designated the "Army of the Indus." It consisted of two columns, the Bengal, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, comprising 9,500 fighting men, with 30,000 camels, and no less than 38,000 camp followers, and the

Bombay column, under the command of Sir John Keane, which numbered 5,600 men of all arms. Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, had consented to undertake the command in person, but on the reduction of the force to the above limits, consequent on the raising of the siege of Herat, he declined to lead the diminished army.

The political charge of the enterprise was entrusted to Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, a man of remarkable abilities and great linguistic attainments, but unfitted, by reason of previous training, and a too sanguine temperament, for a post which required experience and great sagacity of judgment. He was officially styled the Envoy and Minister at the court of His Majesty Shah Soojah, though the latter only had the resemblance of power, the Englishman retaining the responsibilities. His assistants were Major D'Arcy Todd, of the Bengal Artillery, of whom Kaye has written a memoir in his *Lives of Indian Officers*, and Lieutenant Macgregor, whose special duties were to assist his chief in the correspondence and departmental details of the mission, including the management of the force of 6,000 men, raised for the immediate service of the Shah, and designated his army, though commanded by Company's officers, and paid from the Company's treasury; in addition to these duties he had the superintendence of relations with all the members of the royal family, and with the Afghan chiefs, generally a troublesome, and on some occasions a delicate and very difficult, office.

Our ally, Runjeet, was so lukewarm in his friendship, that he refused to allow the Bengal column to march through the Punjab, the most direct road to Cabul, so the army had to take a circuitous route of a thousand miles down the Indus to Bukkur, and thence northward up to the capital, by way of Candahar. The envoy and his staff, together with Shah Soojah and his contingent, attached themselves to Sir John Keane's column, which, following in the steps of the Bengal troops, encamped on the 6th April at Quetta, in the fertile valley of Shawl, where they found Sir Willoughby Cotton awaiting their arrival. Sir John Keane now assumed supreme command.

At this time the loaf of the European soldier was diminished in weight, the native troops were reduced to a pound of flour, and the camp followers to half that quantity. More than 20,000 camels had perished, and it was necessary to push forward with all speed to Candahar. In the intervening space lay the Kojuck Pass, scarcely less formidable than the Bolan, though not of the same extent. The batteries and the field pieces had to be dragged up and lowered down its steep gradients by the

European soldiers, pressed by hunger, parched with thirst, and consumed by incessant fatigue.* Candahar was reached, and the Shah entered the city in triumph on the 25th April, and the sanguine Envoy wrote to assure Lord Auckland that he had been received with feelings of adoration. The army, still on reduced rations, was obliged to remain inactive in Candahar for ten weeks, till the crops had ripened, and it was not until the 27th June, that the advance on Ghuznee commenced.

Lieutenant Macgregor was present at the capture of this fortress, hitherto regarded as impregnable. Resistance over, the Commander-in-Chief and the Envoy, with their staffs, entered Ghuznee by the Cabul gate, the one that had been blown open, and conducted Shah Soojah up to the citadel. The wife and other women of the zenana of Hyder Khan, were treated with every consideration, and were placed under the charge of a man who was to play a somewhat important part in subsequent events, the Moonshee Mohun Lal. Hyder Khan, the late commandant of the fortress, was, however, nowhere to be found. Accident only betrayed the position of the young chief, and Macgregor was instrumental, together with Captain Taylor, Brigade-Major of the 4th Brigade, in effecting his capture. Havelock gives an account of the affair, but does not mention Macgregor's name, though he accompanied Captain Taylor in the search, and shared the credit of the capture. He says, "One thing seemed wanting to render the victory complete, viz., the capture of Mahomed Hyder Khan. It was for some time suspected that he was concealed in the zenana, disguised in women's habiliments, but it fell to the lot of Captain Taylor, of the Bengal European regiment, Brigade-Major of the 4th Bengal Brigade, to discover his real place of retreat. In a house near the Candahar gate, he observed a body of Afghans, who demanded quarter with cries of 'Aman,' when they first approached the dwelling. On his entering it, one of them fired upon him, and the ball, penetrating his jacket, slightly grazed his breast. This act of treachery, and the anxiety betrayed by the Afghans to prevent his entering into the inner apartments, increased his suspicions. He obtained the aid of a detachment of troops, and in a small and retired room discovered a stout and rather handsome young man, plainly dressed, who at once acknowledged himself to be the Ameerzada. Captain Taylor took in the chamber the pistols of the captive, which were handsomely inlaid with silver. His sword, a valuable Persian blade, had been left in the zenana at the moment of his hasty escape."

* Vide *Havelock's Campaign in Afghanistan*.

Mohun Lal says, in his life of Dost Mahomed, that "Major Macgregor found him concealed with an armed party in the tower, waiting for the night. The Sirdar, mounted on a small horse, and accompanied by a few of his companions, was conducted by Major Macgregor to the tent of the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Alexander Burnes and myself were sent for, and as soon as the Sirdar saw him he felt a little easy in his mind; and discovering me with him, the expression of his countenance was at once changed, and he asked me for a glass of water. Lord Keane allowed him to remain in my tent, under the charge of Sir A. Burnes." He was unwilling at first to appear in the presence of Shah Soojah, but the assurances of Sir John Keane induced him to present himself to the Suddozye monarch, who received him with kindness, and told him to "go in peace."

Macgregor's services on this occasion were favourably reported upon by the Envoy, and were acknowledged by the Shah, who, upon the creation of his order of the Dooranee Empire, placed his name on the 3rd class of the first list of officers who received that decoration. A vast amount of grain, and flour, sufficient for a defence of six months, fell into the hands of the captors, together with a large number of horses and arms, which were thrown into a prize fund. The fall of Ghuznee filled Dost Mahomed with consternation, and, finding that his chiefs refused to oppose the British advance, he left Cabul, and turned with a handful of followers in the direction of the Hindoo Koosh, whither he was followed by a party of volunteers, headed by Captain Outram and nine other officers, but effected his escape.

The British army reached Cabul without opposition, and, on the 7th August, 1839, Shah Soojah, resplendent in jewels, was conducted with great pomp through the city to the Bala Hissar, or citadel, where he took up his residence. Three weeks later, Timur, a son of the Shah, arrived from Peshawur with 4,000 men, under the command of Captain Wade, our able political agent at Loodiana; and a month later, 6,000 Sikhs further swelled the numbers of the invading army without adding to its strength. The Bombay force was now directed to return to India by way of Khelat, upon which city and Mehrab Khan, its ruler, who was accused of withholding supplies to the troops on the march, General Willshire, the commander, inflicted condign punishment. To support the authority of the Shah, the Indian Government, alarmed at the enormous drain on the exchequer, caused by supplying stores of all descriptions from arsenals situated more than 800 miles from the scene of

operations, resolved on leaving only some 10,000 troops in Afghanistan, which were to be distributed between the four points, Cabul, Jellalabad, Ghuznee, and Candahar. Honours were showered upon the military and political chiefs who had organized, and, thus far, successfully conducted this Afghan expedition.

Captain Macgregor continued with the Envoy at Cabul, and, in the winter, upon the removal of the Shah's Court from that city to the milder climate of Jellalabad, he accompanied the Mission.

The duties of political officers in Afghanistan were briefly as follow :—"To obtain speedily important intelligence, to check collisions between the armed force and the people, to inquire into complaints, to point out to the military authorities the resources of the country for the provisioning of the troops, and, finally, to communicate between them and the Shah's Governors, and put them in possession of all essential details previous to any hostile demonstration." Sir Alexander Burnes and Captains G. Macgregor and G. Lawrence were the assistants of the Envoy at Cabul. At Quetta * was Captain Bean, assisted by Lieutenant Hammersley, Bengal Native Infantry; at Candahar was Captain Leech; at Ghuznee Lieutenant Burnes, Bombay Native Infantry (younger brother of Sir Alexander), and Dr. Lord was at Bamian. These, together with Major D'Arcy Todd, and his assistants, Captains Richmond Shakespeare and James Abbott, at Herat, were the able, zealous, and talented gentlemen it subsequently became the fashion to villify as "*boy politicals*," and upon whose heads was heaped all the obloquy which arose from disasters, caused by a reckless policy, carried out with insufficient forces and incompetent military leaders.

On the 2nd November, 1839, Shah Soojah, accompanied by Sir W. Macnaghten and Captains Lawrence and Macgregor, removed to his winter quarters at Jellalabad, the climate of which is much milder than the capital. The Envoy was very desirous to conciliate the turbulent clans about the Kyber Pass; and, leaving the King at Jellalabad, on the 12th, he, accompanied by Macgregor and Lawrence, pushed on towards Peshawur, with 250 Europeans, a squadron of the 2nd Light Cavalry, the Shah's 3rd Infantry, and two companies of Native Infantry. On the 17th, they met Eldred Pottinger, the gallant defender of Herat, described as "a very Afghan in appearance." He

* Subsequently Lieut. Loveday was assistant at Quetta, Major Rawlinson at Candahar, Major Lynch in the Western Ghilzye country, and Major Eldred Pottinger in the Kohistan, the mountainous district north of Cabul.

was proceeding to Calcutta on a visit to the Governor-General, previous to taking up his appointment in the Kohistan, and wore the dress of the country, and was "bearded like a Pard." Early in November, the Kyberees, 6,000 strong, attacked and slaughtered a battalion of Nujeebs (Sikh soldiers in British pay), and, later still, made desperate, but vain, attempts to carry the fort of Ali Musjid, garrisoned by a force under Captain Ferris, near the gorge of the Khyber Pass. It was on receiving information of these outrages, that the Envoy determined to negotiate with the chiefs in person, and explain the intentions of Shah Soojah. In the meantime, Colonel Wheeler, with the 48th and 37th N. I., had moved by another route to Ali Musjid; but as he pursued his return march towards Peshawur, the Kyberee chiefs, though they had but just signed a treaty proposed to them by Lieutenant Mackeson, by which an annual payment of £8,000 was guaranteed to them in consideration of their keeping the Pass open, attacked his rear-guard, but were repulsed with severe loss.

The Envoy reached Ali Musjid on the 27th November, and, being joined by the 37th and 48th N. I., as an additional escort, proceeded on to Peshawur. On their arrival at Peshawur, the Envoy and his party were hospitably entertained by General Avitabile, a Neapolitan by birth, who had served in his youth in the army of the great Napoleon. Like other foreign officers, as Allard, Ventura, and Court, after the destruction of the grand army at Waterloo, he had sought service with Runjeet Singh, who, on acquiring Peshawur, placed Avitabile in supreme command with plenary powers. Havelock speaks of him as "a man of princely habits. His dress, chargers, and equipages, all partake of a splendour well calculated to uphold, by giving an *éclat* to, his authority, amongst a people like the Afghans. He particularly, and very justly, piques himself on the excellence of his table, and keeps an establishment of not fewer than eight cooks, who are all well versed in the mysteries of Persian, English, and French gastronomy. He is, moreover, a frank, gay, good-humoured person, as well as an excellent ruler and skilful officer. But there was another side to the character of this remarkable man, as was evidenced by the appearance of thirteen gibbets all tenanted with their ghastly burdens."

On the 3rd December, the Envoy arrived at Peshawur, and, together with Brigadier Sale, who accompanied him, and Macgregor and Lawrence, his assistants, was received by Avitabile with distinguished honours. On the same morning, Sir Wilmoughby Cotton, who, with his staff, including Havelock, was

also the guest of Avitabile, received a letter from the Governor-General, finally appointing him to the command of the troops in Afghanistan. Avitabile gave a grand entertainment to Sir William Macnaghten in honour of his arrival, and, during the course of the banquet, a private letter to the Envoy from Sir Alexander Burnes, announcing the capture of Khelat and death of Mehrab Khan, was read aloud to the assembled guests, who responded by drinking the health of the victors, to the accompaniment of three British cheers. At Peshawur, the Envoy had the gratification of meeting his wife, who had come from the Provinces, accompanied by the wives of several officers who were proceeding to join their husbands at Cabul. On the 15th December, the Envoy and the other officers commenced their return march to Jellalabad, which they reached on the 4th January, 1840, unopposed by the Kyberees.

In January, 1840, while the King and the Envoy were passing the winter at Jellalabad, an expedition was undertaken to coerce a refractory chief, and Captain Macgregor was attached to it as political officer. On the 11th of January, accordingly, under instructions from Sir William Macnaghten, a force, consisting of Captain Christie's cavalry regiment of the Shah's force, with Captain Abbott's battery of artillery, and some infantry, the whole under the command of Colonel Orchard, C.B., set out for the fort of Pushoot,* which lies some fifty miles to the north-east of Jellalabad. On the 18th of January the force advanced to storm the fort. Repeated attempts were made by the Engineer officer, Lieutenant Pigou, to blow in the gate; but the heavy rains had damaged the powder, which, moreover, was not of a good quality, and every effort to repeat the Ghuznee exploit was unsuccessful. A considerable number of our men had meanwhile fallen under the enemy's fire, and as the artillery had exhausted their fire without making any impression, Colonel Orchard temporarily drew off his force. The fort was, however, almost immediately evacuated. Captain Macgregor was more successful than the military commander in effecting the objects for which the advance had been made into that part of the country. Syud Bawa-oo-deen, the chief in the interest of Shah Soojah and the British Government, was reinstated, and the expulsion of Syud Hashim, a rival chief, friendly to Dost Mahomed, effected. The political objects of the expedition

* A detailed account of this expedition, as well as of others in Kohistan and elsewhere, and of the defence of Jellalabad, is given by the author of this work in his history of the *Afghan War*, from the papers and correspondence of Major-General Augustus Abbott, C.B., R.A. (Bentley, 1878.)

having been thus successfully carried out, the force returned to Jellalabad. The Envoy, in forwarding for the information of the Indian Government, Captain Macgregor's narrative of his proceedings during this expedition, together with his valuable and elaborate report on the Nungrihar Valley, which forms the principal portion of the Jellalabad political agency, speaks of his assistant in the following eulogistic terms: "I have from time to time, in demi-official communications, expressed to Captain Macgregor my entire approbation of his proceedings, and I trust that the Right Honourable the Governor-General will see reasons to applaud the ability, patience, and judgment, which have been displayed by that officer throughout the whole of these transactions, as well as the industry which he has evinced in collecting the valuable information contained in the several documents annexed to his report." In consequence of instructions from the Envoy, George Macgregor remained for some little time at Pushoot, in order that by a continuance of his zealous and judicious exertions, he might effect either the seizure of the rebel chiefs, or their expulsion from the neighbourhood of Syud Bawa-oo-deen's country.

In a letter dated 11th February, the Envoy offered him, while at Pushoot, the political agency at Jellalabad, in flattering terms. He says: "I could not well spare you from Cabul Think over the matter, however, and let me know your wishes. There is no one else that I know, except Conolly, and I doubt if he is exactly cut out for the office." The King and the Envoy returned to the capital in the spring, when the latter, with the concurrence of Sir Willoughby Cotton, yielded to the importunity of the Shah, who wanted the entire building for his scraglio, and removed the British troops from the Bala Hissar, which commanded the city, to the exposed and utterly untenable position in the cantonment, a step which eventually more than any other led to the total destruction of the Cabul force. On the departure of the Envoy for Cabul, Macgregor was left in separate charge of the political duties of the districts adjoining Jellalabad, and in this capacity had on several occasions to perform duties of high trust and responsibility.

In August he was again in the field, having occasion to call for the services of the troops to reduce to obedience the Nuzeeree chiefs of Kujjah. Colonel Wheeler, C.B.—better known as General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B., of sad Cawnpore memory—was in command of the force, and the operations were successful. On this occasion, Captain Macgregor, with the enthu-

siasm of an old gunner, cast aside his political individuality, and laid one of the guns that was brought into action. In his official despatch to the Assistant Adjutant-General, dated Camp Kujjah, August 19th, 1840, Colonel Wheeler says, "I should be guilty of great ingratitude, if I did not bear the fullest testimony to the gallant bearing of Captain Macgregor, who with his usual zeal laid the gun on every occasion, and always with the happiest effect." In a private letter the same gallant officer writes, "Captain Macgregor (one of the finest fellows I have ever met with) behaved in the most noble style, laying the gun on every occasion, and with the most splendid effect. If his father is in Calcutta, tell him this, and tell him more, that he may be proud of such a son." On learning the result of this movement, the Governor-General in Council expressed to the Envoy his approval, and that "the measures taken were judicious, and the whole conduct of the operations against these parties reflects great credit upon Captain Macgregor's judgment and decision."

His Majesty Shah Soojah, at the request of the Envoy, promoted him, "as a mark of approbation of his services in Afghanistan," to the second grade of the order of the Dooranee Empire—a grade far higher than his army rank qualified him to hold, and which had been confined, with a few exceptions, to the major-generals and brigadiers of the army of occupation.

On the 13th of December, 1840, the Court re-occupied their former quarters at Jellalabad for the winter months. The Envoy found Captain Macgregor, as Kaye expresses it in his *History of the War in Afghanistan*, "surrounded by a motley crew of the chiefs of the country, who seemed to look up to him as their common father."

Captain Macgregor was thrown into very intimate relations with Shah Soojah, whose character has been well sketched by Sir Alexander Burnes in his work of travels, published shortly before the outbreak of this war. The then Lieutenant Burnes wrote: "The fitness of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk for the station of a sovereign seems ever to have been doubtful. His manners and address are highly polished, but his judgment does not rise above mediocrity; had the case been otherwise, we should not now see him in exile from his country and his throne, without a hope of regaining them, after an absence of twenty years, and before he had attained the fiftieth year of his age." Contrast this with the character of Dost Mahomed, the prince whose alliance we had spurned, and whom we deposed in order to seat his rival on the throne of Ahmed Shah. As Hamlet says,

"Look on this picture and on this;" both are sketched by the same shrewd observer of character and able diplomatist:—"He is unremitting in his attention to business, and attends daily at the Court-house, with the Cazee and Moollahs, to decide every cause according to law. Trade has received the greatest encouragement from him, and he has derived his own reward, since the receipts of the Custom-house of the city (Cabul) have increased fifty thousand rupees and furnished him with a net revenue of two lacs of rupees per annum. The merchant may travel without a guard or protection from one frontier to another, an unheard-of circumstance in the time of the kings. The justice of this chief affords a constant theme of praise to all classes. The peasant rejoices at the absence of tyranny, the citizen at the safety of his home, the merchant at the equity of his decisions and the protection of his property, and the soldier at the regular manner in which his arrears are discharged. One is struck with the intelligence, knowledge, and curiosity which he displays, as well as at his accomplished manners and address." And yet this was the man whose alliance we spurned, and whom we displaced to make room for Shah Soojah!

But Shah Soojah had some kingly qualities, and among them was a royal air and presence, and a well-bred urbanity towards those whom he wished to conciliate—particularly British officers, with whom he was very popular—which never assumed the offensiveness of condescension. But, like a weak prince, he was filled with an overweening idea of his kingly dignity, and entertained sentiments like our Richard the Second, whose character and fate his own much resembled:—

"Not all the water in the rough rude sea,
Can wash the balm from an anointed king;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord."

Matters had begun to look more propitious, owing to the surrender, on the 3rd November, 1841, of Dost Mahomed, who, after making a gallant fight at Purwandurra, came into Cabul and surrendered himself to the Envoy, who sent him to India, with a request to the Governor-General that he would treat him with every consideration; but all this seeming quiet was but the lull, ere the storm burst over the country and deluged it in a sea of blood. Already the mutterings of the coming tempest could be distinguished by those "who had ears to hear," among whom could not be classed the Envoy and Minister, who dreamed on in a fool's paradise of "leisure to turn

to the improvement of administration." While Macnaghten thus wrote to Lord Auckland, the Ghilzyes and Kohistanees, two powerful tribes, had already risen up against the government of the Shah and his supporters, which was only "a government of sentry-boxes," and now the Dooraneees, another tribe who inhabited the country around Candahar, and who had at first favourably regarded Shah Soojah, were breaking out into revolt.

The King himself in the Balâ Hissar was discontented at his position, deprived as he was of all real power, which was vested in the Englishmen who paid him court, and Captain Macgregor, for whom he entertained no little personal affection, states in his *Report on the Causes of the Cabul Outbreak*, that he said to him that he "did not understand his position." Another circumstance that was distasteful to the King, was the reported appointment of Sir Alexander Burnes, whom he greatly disliked, in the place of Sir William Macnaghten, who had been nominated Governor of Bombay. The more immediate cause of the outbreak that occurred at Cabul on the fatal 2nd of November, 1841, may be traced to an ill-judged measure of economy enforced by the Governor-General, who had been pressed to adopt a policy of retrenchment by the Court of Directors; this was the partial withdrawal of the subsidies that had been hitherto regularly paid to the Eastern Ghilzye chiefs, on the understanding that they should cease to levy "black mail" in their passes. They received the announcement at the beginning of October without any apparent discontent, made their salaam to the Envoy, and, returning to their mountain fastnesses, plundered a caravan, and closed the road to Jellalabad by blocking up the passes. They had always regarded these exactions from travellers in the light of an ancient inheritance and an indefeasible right. They were magnanimously indifferent to the politics of Afghanistan, and cared not who ruled, so long as their privileges were respected. The allowances now about to be reduced had been guaranteed to them when we entered the country, and they had performed their part of the contract with exemplary fidelity. They had not allowed a finger to be raised against our posts, or couriers, or weak detachments; and convoys of every description* had passed through their terrible defiles without interruption. The Shah, on hearing of this hostile movement, sent Humza Khan, the Governor of the Ghilzyes,* whose

* Macgregor in his report says:—"The Ghilzyes had another grievance, viz., that during the rule of Ameer Mahomed Khan (Dost Mahomed's brother), who had managed partially to subdue this wild tribe, and had effected a reduction in their

allowance had also been retrenched, to bring them to reason; but as he was himself at the root of the conspiracy, his presence only served to fan the flame.

Captain Macgregor was summoned from Jellalabad by the Envoy, who made light of these disturbances, to proceed with a force, under the command of Colonel Oliver, into Zoormut for the purpose of pacifying that district. It consisted of 200 of Her Majesty's 44th Regiment, 5th Native Infantry, 6th Regiment Shah's subsidiary force, four guns of Abbott's battery, two iron nine-pounders, mountain train, two companies Shah's sappers, and two squadrons of Anderson's horse.] The expedition was undertaken in consequence of Captain Hay's unsuccessful attack upon the fort of Zao in the Zoormut district. Captain Macgregor left Cabul on the 28th September, in company with the detachment, and much of the success was due to the firmness and tact with which the political agent negotiated with the robber chiefs. There was no actual fighting, as the forts were evacuated, and Captain Macgregor, after levying the revenue in arrears, and receiving the submission of all the Zao chiefs, with hostages for their good conduct, blew up the forts, and returned to Cabul early in October.

Upon approaching the capital, Macgregor was met by a summons from the Envoy to return hastily in order to accompany the brigade formed under General Sale, for operations against the Eastern Ghilzyes, who, as we have seen, blocked up the passes between Cabul and Jellalabad on the reduction of the amount paid them as subsidies. Though Sir William Macnaghten thus hastily summoned Macgregor to return to Cabul to reduce the refractory Ghilzyes, he wrote to Major Rawlinson, expressing his belief that it was only a passing insurrection and would be soon quelled. He says, "a force will move out against them to-morrow or next day, but I do not apprehend an open opposition."

General Sale's brigade was under orders to return to India; but he was directed on the way to chastise the rebellious Ghilzyes, who had taken up a position in the Khoord-Cabul Pass, about fifteen miles from the capital. On the 9th October, Colonel Monteith marched from Cabul with the 35th Native Infantry, a squadron of the 5th Cavalry, two guns of Abbott's battery, under Dawes, and Broadfoot's sappers and miners. That night his camp was attacked at Boothak, the first march

pay of 13,000 rupees, this was restored to them in 1839 on the return of the Shah; but it was reduced on the present occasion. Further, they were held responsible for thefts committed beyond their respective boundaries."

on the road to Jellalabad, by several hundred men, and twenty-four Sepoys were killed and wounded.

On learning this news, the Envoy ordered Sale to advance with the 13th Light Infantry, and clear the passes. Sale started on the 11th and, on the following day, entered the Khoord-Cabul pass. The enemy occupied the heights in considerable force, and from the rocks and eminences on both sides, opened a galling fire with their "juzails," or long matchlocks, for which, whether as regards accuracy or range, the old-fashioned Brown Bess was no match. Sale was wounded at the first onset, and Brigadier Dennie took command of the troops. The pass was cleared, though with some loss, four officers besides the general being wounded, and then the 13th retraced its steps to Boothak, whilst Monteith, with the 35th and other details, was left encamped in the Khoord-Cabul Pass. On the 11th October Macgregor arrived at Cabul from the expedition into the Zoormut country, and Sir William Macnaghten, who had a very high opinion of him, despatched him to Monteith's camp to bring the chiefs to reason. Macnaghten, believing that the outbreak was local and accidental, took little heed of what was going on in the Kohistan, the province to the north of Cabul, though Major Pottinger divined the coming storm, and fully appreciated the dangers and difficulties by which he was surrounded. However he determined to send reinforcements to Monteith, and wrote to Macgregor on the 17th October. "We must thrash the rascals, I fear, after all; but I don't think that the troops will be under weigh until the 20th. Is not this provoking? Pray write a circumstantial plan of the best means of surrounding and preventing the escape of the villains." "With regard to Tezeen," he writes on the 19th, "I wish to leave matters very much to your discretion. But the season is far advanced, and if the rebels are very humble I would not be too hard upon them. But Gool Mahomed can have nothing but war, and the defences of Khoda Buksh's fort must be demolished; he can only have the reduced Mowajib, and the plundered property must be restored. Hostages must be furnished by both; the more we can conveniently punish these rascals, the better; but I should be sorry to hear of their bolting, probably to renew their depredations; but you must judge for the best on the spot—a thousand things may happen which I cannot foresee." A prediction, this last, soon to be verified.

In the meanwhile, the divided force remained in camp for several days awaiting reinforcements. During this time, several "shub-khoons," or night attacks, were made on the two camps, that on the 35th N.I. at Khoord-Cabul being peculiarly

harassing from the treachery of the Hazir-bash, or King's Life Guard, who admitted the enemy within their lines, by which our troops were exposed to a fire from the least expected quarter, when many sepoys and Lieutenant Jenkins met their death. Captain Macgregor, on receiving indubitable proofs of the treachery of the Hazir-bash, sent them back to Cabul. It was certainly a sinister proof of the universal hatred in which we were regarded by all Afghans, that the local troops, who had been in our pay for two years, should now turn against us, yet the Envoy refused to believe in the wide-spread coalition that had sprung up, having for its object the extirpation of the detested invader, and wrote to Macgregor, on the 19th, complaining of Monteith's official report regarding the treachery of the local levies. "It is a very convenient, and a very common process," he says, "to ascribe to our Afghan allies every calamity that befalls us."

On the 20th October, General Sale moved upon Khoord-Cabul, with the 13th Light Infantry, the 35th N.I., under Colonel Monteith, the 37th N.I., under Major Griffiths, Captain Abbott's guns, the mountain train battery under Captain Backhouse, 100 of Anderson's irregular horse, under Lieutenant Mayne, and the remainder of the Shah's sappers and miners. After a brief halt for want of carriage, which much tried the patience of the Envoy, the whole force assembled at Khoord-Cabul, with Macgregor, the political agent, and marched through seventeen miles of defile to the valley of Tezzen, encountering much determined opposition on the road. The morning after their arrival, the fort of Meer Afzul Khan was attacked and carried, and that chief sent a submissive letter to the political agent. At Tezzen, accordingly, the force halted for some days, and Macgregor busied himself in negotiating with the enemy. Macnaghten had instructed him to accommodate matters, if it could be done, without any loss of honour; and as Macgregor was candid enough to acknowledge that the insurrection of the Ghilzyes had been brought about by "harsh and unjust" measures of our own, he opened a communication with the rebel chiefs, and being known and trusted by most of them, consented to a personal interview. A long and animated discussion ensued.

Macgregor, in his report giving an interesting account of the negotiations, says:—"I met them according to their desire, being accompanied by Captain James Paton—who wished to examine more closely the fort, in case we might find it necessary to proceed against it, my Persian writer, and an orderly Sowar,

for I thought, by throwing myself completely on their mercy, I should be more likely to secure their protection. The chiefs demanded that their salaries should be placed on their former footing—that they should not be held responsible for thefts committed beyond their respective boundaries, and that Gool Mahomed Khan should be reinstated as their chief. To the two first-mentioned demands I agreed, but to the last, I objected; for by displacing Burkutt Khan, who had been appointed to the chiefship on Gool Mahomed having joined in the rebellion, the honour of the Government would have been compromised. This led to a long and warm discussion; but the chiefs, finding that on this point I was firm, yielded to me, and I returned to camp. On the 25th, they sent in their agents to remain with me, and to make arrangements for re-establishing the thanahs and dâk chokies, &c. The next day, we left Tezeen for Gundamuck. Although I felt a little doubtful in my own mind as to the good faith of the chiefs, Gool Mahomed and Mahomed Shah Khan (they not appearing to be satisfied), in the promised fulfilment of their engagements, still I saw no good reason why they should not act up to them, if they consulted their own interests; and any infraction of the treaty might be resented at Gundamuck, when the chiefs would be far more tangible than in their present position, from which to extricate the troops in itself formed an object of much solicitude to me.”

This is not to be wondered at, for the fighting had been severe, and General Sale was lying at the time on his pallet in the fort at Tezeen, suffering intense pain from the wound in the ankle he had received at Khoord-Cabul. On learning the result of the negotiations, Sir William Macnaghten wrote to Macgregor on the 26th: “I am glad that affairs have been settled; and I conclude that you have got such assurances, whether by hostages of a sufficient description or otherwise, to satisfy you that there is no intention of breaking out again when they catch us off guard. I have just got a note from Pottinger, who evidently writes in great trepidation. He says the Nijrowees are coming down to attack him. But I have no doubt that the storm will blow over, when they hear of the settlement of the Ghilzye question.” On the following day, he again writes approving the convention: “I do not entertain the smallest doubt of the policy of your proceedings, or of the wisdom of your granting such favourable terms to the rebels. His Majesty sent for me this morning before breakfast. He was evidently much dissatisfied; but I proved to him that, if the terms granted were less stringent than they should have been,

the fault lay with his own traitorous servants, who conspired with the enemy, and paralysed our troops!" But the treaty, like every other, before or since, that has been concluded with the perfidious Afghans, was no better than so much waste paper, and almost before the seals of the chiefs had dried on the document, every article and provision in it had been violated by them.

On the 26th October, the day of Macgregor's departure from Tezeen, the 37th N.I., three companies of the Shah's sappers, under Captain Walsh, and three guns of the mountain train, under Lieut. Green, retraced their steps towards Cabul, and encamped at Kubbur-i-Jubbur, to wait as an escort to the sick and convalescent. The sappers continued the march back to Cabul unopposed; the rest remained unmolested until the 1st November, when they broke ground for Khoord-Cabul. Here, on the afternoon of the 2nd, Major Griffiths, who commanded the detachment, received a peremptory order from General Elphinstone to return to Cabul, where the insurrection had already broken out in all its violence. His march from Boothak to Cabul, says Eyre, was "one continued conflict, nothing saving him from destruction but the gallantry of his troops, and the excellence of his dispositions."

Sale's brigade moved on from Tezeen to Gundamuck, but though we had some hostages, the fighting was continuous and severe. The enemy mustered in force, and attacked the British column, the old excuse being made that it was owing to no faithlessness on the part of the chiefs, but to their inability to control the tribes. "The mountaineers," writes Havelock, who was on Sale's staff, "attacked our rear-guard in the march on the 26th, at Sei Baba, on the 27th, at Kuta Sing, and on the 28th, on approaching Jugdulluck. They were repulsed on every occasion." On the next march, which was through the Jugdulluck Pass, it was found that the heights were bristling with armed men, and a heavy fire was poured in from all salient points, on which, with the instincts of the mountaineer, the enemy had posted themselves. Captain Augustus Abbott, of the Artillery, who commanded the advance on this day, threw out his flanking parties, and the light troops, skirmishing well up the hill sides, dislodged the enemy, whilst a party, under Captain Wilkinson of the 13th Regiment, passing through the defile, found that the main outlet had not been guarded, and that the passage was clear. The march was resumed, but the enemy fell furiously upon the rear-guard, and, for a time, the troops, thus fiercely assailed, were in a state of

terrible disorder. The energetic efforts of the officers brought back the men to a sense of their duty, and order being restored the rear-guard was extricated from the defile, though with the loss of 126 placed *hors de combat*.

General Sale, in his official letter to the assistant Adjutant-General, says of the services of the subject of this memoir during these arduous operations:—"I ought before to have mentioned that the amount of my obligations is great to Captain Macgregor, political agent, for his aid in every way. The information he had obtained from time to time has been most useful to me in planning my operations; his influence has procured for us supplies and co-operation, and during the affairs of the 28th and 29th, he was always either at my side or in action, and forward with our advanced guard."

At length, after eighteen days' of harassing warfare, the troops found a brief repose at Gundamuck, which formed one of the halting stations of the Ameers of Cabul on their way to their winter residence at the latter place. Orchards and vineyards, green fields and rippling streams refreshed the harassed soldiers. A cantonment had been erected here, which was, at the time, occupied by a corps of Khyberees, a regiment of Janbaz, or Afghan horse, and some Afghan juzailchees, or matchlockmen. Here, then, the brigade arrived on the 30th October, and looked forward to a brief season of repose. Everything, indeed, at this time wore a more encouraging aspect. Provisions were freely coming into camp, and the Ghilzye chiefs were making their submission. Captain Macgregor, in his narrative of these events, says: "On the 31st, Burkutt Khan paid me a visit, and brought with him two of the rebel chiefs, Sadad Meer and Sir Biland Khan; they had returned to their allegiance, and delivered over to me sixteen camel loads of property (not very valuable) which had been plundered from some Rehwaree merchants; this property I made over to its owners. Agha Khan Sahuk, a Ghilzye chief of considerable influence, and Attah Mahomed Khan Sahuk, joined me at Gundamuck, and established their thanahs (police stations) for the protection of the Cabul road within their respective boundaries from Seh Baba to near Jugdulluck. Burkutt Khan had reposted his thanahs at Jugdulluck, and at this time there seemed to be a great promise of the Ghilzye country being shortly tranquillised." Meer Afzul Khan was, however, an exception, and, though he had been loaded with favours by Shah Soojah, had come down from Cabul to aid in the rebellion. Macgregor says in his report:—"On the 3rd November, I was informed that

Meer Afzul Khan, Urz-Begge, had fled from Cabul, and had joined the rebels, and was then at Ghauni, endeavouring to excite the Khograunes and Ghaunees to rebellion against us. Meer Afzul had a fort and extensive lands at Mamoo Khail, about two miles distant from our encampment at Gundamuck, from which he had removed his family and portable property, and might "chupao" (night attack) our camels when at graze, stop our supplies, and molest us in many ways with impunity. I had information that the party which was intended to garrison the fort had not yet reached it; and by our moving at once on it, we should meet with less resistance at that time than would be offered a few days subsequently; on the other hand, if the British troops took possession of this fort, our position at Gundamuck would be greatly strengthened. I, therefore, requested Major-General Sir Robert Sale to capture the fort in question. The troops marched against it on the 5th, and found it had been evacuated; a party of Ferris' juzailchees and fifty of Dowson's Hazir-bash, under Captain Gerard, having been left in occupation of it, the troops returned to Gundamuck the following day. A quantity of grain, which had been left in the fort by the enemy and had been stored outside, fell into our possession."

In the meantime, the first act of the terrible Cabul tragedy had been enacted, and Sir Alexander Burnes, who was to succeed the Envoy, fell the first victim to the popular frenzy on that memorable 2nd November, 1841. During the following few days Sir William Macnaghten wrote several importunate letters to Captain Macgregor, urging him to bring back General Sale's force to Cabul, but none of these came to hand, though, on the 10th November, Macgregor, who had for days been perplexed by alarming rumours of native origin, received the first authentic intelligence of the outbreak at the capital, coupled with an urgent requisition from the Envoy to return with the troops. A council of war was, accordingly, held to decide the momentous question; and, looking to the after events, it is perhaps not too much to say that, had this council of war come to a determination contrary to what was adopted, the whole aspect of affairs would have been changed at Cabul, and no such pusillanimous resolve as surrendering British guns, ammunition, and arms would have been come to; for such spirits as Sale, Abbott, Havelock, Broadfoot, and Macgregor would have scouted the idea of surrender, and the hands of the Envoy, who was ever against negotiating with the enemy on dishonourable terms, would have been strengthened. But it was not to be.

Not only fortune, but Heaven itself seemed to turn against us, as though bent on discharging the full vials of its wrath on the heads of the ill-fated instruments of our iniquitous Afghan policy.

The council of war, after deliberating on the three courses open to them, viz., whether they should fight their way back to Cabul, remain at Gundamuck, or retire on Jellalabad, resolved on adopting the last course on the grounds that the occupation of that post was absolutely essential to the safety of the column, and also to keep open the communication with the provinces of India, as well as to form a city of refuge, upon which the hardly-beset force at Cabul might fall back. Sale and Macgregor wrote letters to Macnaghten and Elphinstone, advising them of the determination at which they had arrived, and, on the 11th November, the brigade commenced its march on Jellalabad. Sale, determining to move with as little encumbrance as possible, deposited his heavy baggage at Gundamuck, where he left the Afghan Irregulars to guard it; scarcely, however, had they quitted the cantonment when a distant fire of musketry was heard in the rear, and then there was a lurid blaze, followed by an explosion. It was the revolt of the Afghan levies at Gundamuck, who broke into open mutiny, plundered the baggage, set fire to the cantonment, and blew up the magazine, sending a number of their own treasonable companions into the air. The Khyberees alone remained faithful, and, with the officers, made the best of their way to the British camp.

Sale resumed his march on the 12th, and on the same day the Envoy wrote as follows to Macgregor:—"Ibrahim Khan has just come in with your note, No. 8. I have written to you four times, requesting that you would come up with Sale's brigade as soon as possible. We are still in a very bad way, though not quite so badly off as we were four days ago. Our force is so small that we cannot act on the offensive, and we have not above a fortnight's supplies. We have lost a great many officers. I fear the Ghoorka regiment is annihilated; and as we are in a state of siege, we can learn nothing of what is going on in other parts of the country. Khoda Buksh, Mahomed Shah, and some other Ghilzyes are here, and we thrashed them yesterday. I am trying, through Humza, to enter into some arrangements with the Mufsid (rebels). As the Ghilzyes are occupied here, I should think you would not meet with much opposition, except, perhaps, in the Khoord-Cabul Pass." On the 13th November, an action was fought with the insurgents at Cabul, which was regarded in the light

of a success ; it was the last gleam that shone on the arms of the garrison already devoted to destruction ; and, on the following day, Sir William Macnaghten wrote again to Macgregor in these terms :—" I have just received your note of the 10th. Dozens of letters have been written from this, urging your immediate return with Sale's brigade to Cabul ; and if you have not started by the time you receive this, I earnestly beg that you will do so immediately. Our situation is a very precarious one ; but with your assistance we should all do well, and you must render it to us if you have any regard for our lives, or the honour of our country. We may be said to be in a state of siege ; and had we not made two desperate sallies, we should ere now have been annihilated. We have provisions for only ten days ; but when you arrive, we shall be able to command the resources of the country. In our action of yesterday, Thain and Paton were wounded, the latter so severely that his arm has been amputated. I have still some hope of the Charekar detachment, but a faint one. I have no news from Ghuznee or Candahar. In the interior of the country they seem to be as *jaghee* as at the capital. Mehta Moosa joined the rebels yesterday. We have been unmolested to-day ; but it may be only the lull before the storm. Humza Khan has promised to call on me this evening. I have no idea that he will do so. I intend to make much of him. I have written to you several letters of late, so shall say no more for the present. The Ghilzye force being here, I should conceive you will experience no opposition on the road." The hopes expressed for the safety of the Charekar detachment, were dissipated on the following day, when Major Eldred Pottinger and Lieutenant Haughton came in wounded from that post, and reported that the Ghoorka regiment had been cut to pieces to a man. As for the brigade, for the return of which the Envoy watched with sickening anxiety, and a hope that day by day waxed fainter, it had entered Jellalabad on the 13th November.

On the morning of the 12th, Sale resumed his march in the grey twilight, when the tribes were seen clustering on the steep hill sides on either side, and soon poured themselves down on his rear-guard with the intention of sweeping off the baggage. A running skirmish, which lasted some miles, ended in the complete dispersion of the depredators, and secured the safety of the remainder of the march. Colonel Dennie, of the 13th, drew the enemy into his toils by a clever manœuvre and then cut them up handsomely, proving what Elphinstone's troops might have done had they been as ably led.

That night Sale's brigade encamped under the walls of Jellalabad, and, on the following morning, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who believed that the British troops were making the best of their way to India, he marched in and took possession of the place. Abdool Rahman, who ruled the town and district in the name of Shah Soojah, officially made over the place to the British garrison, at the request of Captain Macgregor, though he continued to reside for some time under the protection of the political agent. And so commenced the famous leaguer of Jellalabad.

Jellalabad, as the winter residence of the Ameers of Afghanistan, was only inferior in extent and importance to Cabul and Candahar. The valley in which it is situated, is about twenty-eight miles in length, and three or four in breadth; is fertilised by three streams, the largest of which is the Cabul river, and closed in by magnificent ranges of mountains; though arid and desert in the immediate vicinity of the town, the valley is also well-wooded. General Sale in a letter to Government, dated April 16, 1842, (written by Captain Havclock) describes the defences of the city, as "in a state which might have justified despair as to the possibility of defending it. The *enceinte* was far too extensive for my small force, embracing a circumference of upwards of 2,300 yards. Its tracing was vicious in the extreme; it had no parapet excepting for a few hundred yards, which, there, was not more than two feet high earth; and rubbish had accumulated to such an extent about the ramparts, that there were roads in various directions across and over them into the country. There was a space of 400 yards together, on which none of the garrison could show themselves excepting at one spot; the population within was disaffected, and the whole *enceinte* was surrounded by ruined forts, walls, mosques, tombs, and gardens, from which a fire could be opened upon the defenders at twenty and thirty yards."

Like other Afghan cities, Jellalabad possessed a Bala Hissar, or citadel, and a council was held to deliberate whether it alone should be occupied, or the entire city be placed in a state of defence. Ultimately the latter course was adopted, and a committee of officers appointed to inspect and report upon the nature of the works required to enable the garrison to stand a siege against any force the Afghans might bring against them. Captain Broadfoot, a gallant officer who had been the soul of the previous operations as he now was of the defence, and who fell in the Sikh war, a great loss to the Indian army of which he was the ornament and pride—Captain Broadfoot,

with his characteristic energy, made a circuit of the dilapidated works, and reported to the General that the place might be defensible. Accordingly, he got permission to clear away the ruins, and set to work with the miserable implements and totally inadequate force of sappers at his command. The latter consisted of natives of India, Nepaul, and Afghanistan, attached to the Shah's force, and had been drilled in all the duties of entrenching and siege operations by himself; for though an infantry officer, he was one of those "admirable Crichtons" who could turn his hand to anything, and perform thoroughly whatever he undertook. As to the implements, notwithstanding the discouragement he had met with at head-quarters, he forced the Cabul artificers to manufacture them for him. Broadfoot's sappers, under their indomitable chief, set to work with a will, and—assisted by the entire garrison, for the soldiers, European and native, vied with each other in the honourable task—the defences rose as if by magic.

But before this could be done effectually, it was necessary to drive away the enemy who assembled in great force before the walls of the city. Accordingly, on the morning of the 14th November, Colonel Monteith, of the 35th N.I., sallied out with 1,100 men, and, after a brilliant action, totally routed the Afghans, and prevented them from further annoying the garrison for some days. Then pick and shovel were plied in peace by the soldiers, who could handle either as well as the sword and bayonet, and, under Broadfoot, the decayed ramparts were repaired, and the ditches cleared out of the accumulation of rubbish that had completely filled them up.

In the meantime, where all did so well, Captain Macgregor, finding his political duties almost a sinecure, undertook the commissariat arrangements, and it is not too much to say that to no one was the ultimate success of the defence more due than to the *quasi* political agent of Jellalabad. British soldiers will fight, as they did at Jellalabad, and will fight better too without ardent spirits, but it is not given even to the British soldier, more than to any class of human beings, to fight on an empty stomach. Kaye writes of him at this time. "Macgregor, with his wonted activity, was playing the part of the commissariat officer—and playing it well—bringing all his political influence, which was great, to bear upon the important business of the collection of supplies, and so successful were his exertions—so successful were the exertions of the foraging parties, which went out from time to time in search of grain, sheep, firewood, and other essentials—that in a little while a month's provisions

were in store." Notwithstanding all that could be done however, the troops were on half rations.

Captain Macgregor wrote to his chief on the day following his arrival at Jellalabad. In the meantime, disquieting news continued to come from Cabul. Sir W. Macnaghten, who had been hourly looking for the return of Sale's brigade, learnt to his bitter disappointment that it had pushed on to Jellalabad. He wrote on the 17th November to Macgregor, as follows: "I have written to you daily, pointing out our precarious state, and urging you to return here, with Sale's brigade, with all possible expedition. General Elphinstone has done the same, and we now learn, to our dismay, that you have proceeded to Jellalabad. Our situation is a desperate one if you do not immediately return to our relief, and I beg that you will do so without a moment's delay. We have now been besieged for fourteen days, and without your assistance are utterly unable to carry on any offensive operations. You may easily make Cabul in eight marches, and, as the Ghilzyes are here, you would not have many enemies to contend with."

But in the course of this night the ill-fated Envoy received a letter from Macgregor which banished all hope of expecting relief from Sale's brigade. He now turned for aid to Mackeson, the political agent at Peshawur with the Sikhs, who were bound by the terms of the Tripartite Treaty to assist their hard pressed allies. On the following day he wrote to Macgregor in this hope, at which, like a drowning man, he grasped, and this letter was the last he ever penned to his assistant and friend. "I have received your letter of the 13th inst. The Cossid gave us an account of your action on the 14th inst, which if he speaks truth, must have been a very successful one. We are *in statu quo*. Our chief want is supplies. I perceive now that you could not well have joined us. I hope you have written to Mackeson, asking him for aid from the Sikhs, under the treaty. If there is any difficulty about the Sikhs getting through the pass, Mackeson should offer a bribe to the Khyberees of a lac of rupees, or more, to send them safe passage. These are not times to stick at trifles. I do not hear anything from Ghuznee or Candahar, but I should not wonder if they were in the same mess as ourselves. We must look for support chiefly from Peshawur. Write to Mackeson continually and tell him to urge Government to send as many troops into the country as speedily as possible. John Conolly is in the Bala Hissar with his Majesty, who, as you may imagine, is in a sad taking. I am making no progress in my negotiations with the rebels."

At Cabul, the action of the 23rd November, at Behmaroo, resulted in the defeat of the British troops, and negotiations were forthwith opened with the enemy, which, after continued delays, resulted in the evacuation of the Bala Hissar on the 13th December, and of the forts surrounding the cantonment, while preparations were made for a retreat. At length, on the 23rd December, the Envoy was persuaded to meet Akbar Khan at a conference, and fell a victim to the treachery of the Sirdar, who shot him with his own hand. Thus perished, with all his faults, as noble a gentleman and brave a man as any in Afghanistan. Marshman well says of him, "He was the only civilian at Cabul, and he was one of the truest hearted soldiers in the garrison." The difficulties he had to encounter were almost unparalleled, and were such as to unnerve the boldest heart, yet he never quailed. Sir W. Macnaghten was the object of much cruel and undeserved obloquy, but the chief offence that can be laid to his charge, and it amounts almost to a sin in one upon whom devolved the responsibilities that fell to the share of the Envoy and Minister, was a want of political foresight in not divining the signs of the times, which portended the coming storm. It is, however, very easy to be wise after the event, and in this blindness to the inevitable tendency of the portents around him he was not alone—Sir Alexander Burnes and most of the authorities, political and military, were equally taken by surprise, and it must not be forgotten also that he and they paid a heavy price for this want of sagacity, and it becomes us to touch lightly the faults of the dead.

Return we now to Jellalabad. On the 1st December, a column, under Colonel Dennie, sallied out and inflicted severe chastisement on the enemy without the loss of a man. But gradually during that month of December, the reports and rumours that were brought in by native agents and whispered round the garrison, pointed to some awful catastrophe as impending over the British army at Cabul. Sale and Macgregor refused at first to credit the rumours regarding the murder of our Envoy, and the latter, in his communications with Mackeson at Peshawur, threw doubt on the news that had been brought to him by a spy in his department. But his incredulity was soon dispelled. On the 2nd January, 1842, a letter was received from Major Pottinger—who had been called to undertake Macnaghten's office, and who, even at this eleventh hour, would have retrieved at least the honour of the British army, had his advice been followed—giving with a significant brevity a record of the terrible events that had been crowded into the

previous few days. The letter was written on Christmas Day, and ran as follows :—"We have had a sad Comedy of Errors, or rather tragedy here. Macnaghten was called out to a conference and murdered. We have interchanged terms on the ground he was treating on for leaving the country ; but things are not finally settled. However, we are to fall back on Jellalabad to-morrow or next day. In the present disturbed state of the country we may expect opposition on the road, and we are likely to suffer much from cold and hunger, as we expect to have no carriage for tents and superfluities. I have taken charge of the mission. Mackenzie, Lawrence, and Conolly are all seized. The first two I fear for. The latter is quite safe. The cantonment is now attacked."

The garrison of Jellalabad received this intelligence of the capitulation of a British army, with mingled emotions of sorrow, shame, and indignation, while all at the same time discussed with dire forebodings the dangers of the retreat through the snow ; a day or two after the receipt of this news, a proclamation emanating from Akbar Khan, was brought into the garrison, which recited that "Sikunder Burnes Sahib," (Sir Alexander Burnes) and many others were slain ; that between Cabul and Gundamuck thousands of the Kafirs had perished, and around the capital a Colonel Sahib (Oliver) and many others ; and, finally, the Lord Sahib (Sir William Macnaghten) had been put to death. The Sirdar also declared his intention of exterminating the invaders, and called on all the chiefs to muster their clans and take care that the Feringhees got no supplies ; and, above all, to surround Jellalabad, and cut off the retreat of Macgregor, whose capture was a special object of Afghan solicitude.

The first week of January was a period of intense anxiety to the garrison, for the fate of their countrymen. At length, on the 8th January, a letter came from Pottinger for Macgregor. It was written in French, as there were men in the enemy's camp who could read and understand English, and it announced that their position had become daily more perilous ; that the treaty commenced by the late Envoy was still being negotiated ; that some delays had been occasioned by the difficulty, real or pretended, of providing carriage and provisions to enable the troops to commence their march, and that it was not improbable that, in spite of the promises of the chiefs, the British column would be compelled to fight its way down to Jellalabad. In conclusion, Pottinger spoke of instructions for the evacuation of Jellalabad, but urged Macgregor to stand fast until the receipt of further orders from Cabul. On the following day, these instructions

arrived in the form of a peremptory order, signed by General Elphinstone and Major Pottinger, directing Macgregor to evacuate Jellalabad forthwith. The following is a copy of a document rare in our annals :—"It having been found necessary to conclude an agreement, founded on that of the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, for the evacuation of Afghanistan by our troops, we have the honour to request that you will intimate to the officer commanding at Jellalabad, our wish that the troops now at that place should return to India, commencing their march immediately after the receipt of this letter, leaving all guns, the property of Dost Mahomed Khan, with the new governor, as also such stores and baggage as there may not be the means of carrying away, and the provisions in store for our use on arriving at Jellalabad. Abdool Ghuffoor Khan, who is the bearer of this letter, will render you all the assistance in his power. He has been appointed governor of Jellalabad on the part of the existing government."

Macgregor laid this letter before Sir Robert Sale, and a council of war was convened to consider the momentous proposition contained therein, and the course that should be pursued. Both the military and political chiefs were resolved to reject the summons to surrender, and to hold out to the last, and in this manly policy they were supported by the unanimous voice of the council. It was necessary, however, in order to avoid compromising the safety of the Cabul garrison, that the communication should be carefully worded, for it was certain to fall under the eye of Akbar Khan. The following was the reply, signed by the military and political chiefs, and dated the 9th January 1842:—"We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, which you therein state was to be delivered to us by Abdool Ghuffoor Khan, appointed governor of this place by the existing powers at Cabul. That communication was not delivered to us by him, but by a messenger of his, and though dated 29th December, 1841, has only this moment reached us. I have at the same time, positive information that Mahomed Akbar Khan has sent a proclamation to all the chiefs in the neighbourhood, urging them to raise their followers for the purpose of intercepting and destroying the forces now at Jellalabad. Under these circumstances, we have deemed it our duty to await a further communication from you, which we desire may point out the security which may be given for our safe march to Peshawur."

Sale and Macgregor placed on record their individual reasons for declining to obey the orders of their official superiors in

Afghanistan, and the following from Macgregor's report, contains his motives for adopting this resolution :—

"The conduct of Major-General Sir R. Sale and myself, in having declined, under the circumstances, to deliver up Jellalabad to Abdool Ghuffoor Khan, Barukzye, in conformity with the instructions contained in the letter to my address of the 29th December, signed by Major Pottinger and General Elphinstone, has already been approved by Government; but perhaps it may be proper here to relate a few of the causes which led to such a resolution. When the British authorities at Cabul decided upon capitulating, and the terms of capitulation were in the course of negotiation, my spies informed me that letters had been received from Mahomed Akbar Khan, and the Ghilzye chiefs, desiring the different tribes on the road to assemble to attack the British army, which was shortly to leave Cabul for India. This information was confirmed by the letter from Burkutt Khan. . . . An intercepted letter from Mahomed Akbar Khan, which reached us at the same time, will serve to show the spirit with which he regarded us; therefore I felt convinced that treachery was intended by the Afghan chiefs, in which case our retaining possession of the fortress of Jellalabad became of incalculable advantage to the retreating force; and if it succeeded in reaching Jellalabad, strengthened as it would be by the garrison, we might yet have upheld our authority in Nungnahar, until an opportunity would have been afforded to the British Government to reinforce us, so as to commence operations for the recapture of Cabul. The troops left Cabul on the 6th January; and not until the 9th did we receive the letter in question. Their fate had been sealed ere that period; and had the requisition been complied with, Government would most assuredly have had to lament the destruction of the Jellalabad garrison, as well as that of the Cabul force, the wishes of the enemy evidently being to inveigle us into their power, and then to do their worst towards us. Moreover, to have evacuated Jellalabad would have doubtless increased a hundred-fold the difficulties of re-establishing the British authority in this country, in the event of Government determining so to do. Our national honour and the safety of our Indian dominions seemed to render this latter course of paramount necessity."

Scarcely had the reply of the 9th January been despatched to Cabul, than a letter was received from Peshawur, from Colonel Wyld, who, as soon as the insurrection was known to the Government, had been sent from India with a few native regiments, but without guns. Colonel Wyld wrote that he

could not advance for want of carriage, and that he was, moreover, awaiting the result of certain negotiations which Captain Mackeson had opened with the Afreedees, for a free passage through the Khyber Pass. The latter also wrote to Macgregor "that he considered it a false move to attempt to force the Pass without the aid of the second reinforcement expected from the provinces, which included European troops and cavalry." Finally, on the 11th January, a letter arrived from Colonel Wylde, stating definitively that it was out of his power to make any advance, and that the garrison at Jellalabad must provide for its own safety. The disappointment was keenly felt, and something like a feeling of despondency settled over the gallant men thus left to their fate by a Government which should have strained every nerve to rescue the soldiers immolated on the altar of their own ill-judged policy. But the darkest hour precedes the dawn. Lord Auckland roused himself from the depressing state of gloom into which he had sunk, and exhibited the solitary instance of good judgment in the whole of the Afghan *imbroglio* by his selection of General Pollock to command the force that was to retrieve the honour of our arms in Afghanistan. The appointment gave universal satisfaction, as it was seen that the selection could have been made on the sole ground of individual merit. General Pollock was not what is called a "dashing officer," but was gifted with sound sense and good judgment, with considerable experience of native soldiery, who formed the bulk of his small army. These qualities were destined soon to be severely tested, but General Pollock came out of the trial with flying colours. On arriving at Peshawur on the 5th February, he set energetically to work to repair the morale of the native troops, which was at the lowest ebb, both on account of Wylde's disastrous failure in the Khyber, and of the disaffection among the Sepoys, owing to their dread of that formidable defile.

On the 13th January the worst fears of the garrison at Jellalabad, for the safety of their countrymen then supposed to be retreating, were realised. Akbar Khan's vow that but one man should be permitted to escape to tell the tale of Afghan treachery and of British dishonour, received a terrible verification, as Dr. Brydon—the sole survivor, with the exception of about 120 prisoners, with the women and children and hostages, of an army numbering, when it started from the cantonment at Cabul, 4,500 fighting men and 12,000 camp followers—just found strength to urge his wretched pony within sight of the walls of Jellalabad, when he was brought in by a party of

cavalry sent out to succour him, wounded, exhausted, and half dead. A shudder ran through the garrison, as they gathered round this man, who seemed as a messenger from the other side of the tomb, while in accents, broken with horror and fatigue, he faltered out the fearful tale of how 16,000 men, marching under the flag of Britain, had fallen victims to the blackest treachery. The remorseless Afghan, dead to all honour and truth, and destitute of pity to a foe, realised the words Shelley puts into the mouth of the unhappy and outraged Beatrice :—

“ Plead with the swift frost,
That it should spare the eldest flower of spring,
Plead with awakening earthquake o'er whose couch
Even now a city stands, fair, strong, and free ;
Now stench and blackness yawn, like death. Oh ! plead
With famine, or weird-walking pestilence,
Blind lightning, or the deaf sea, not with man,
Cruel, cold, formal man, righteous in words,
In deeds a Cain.”

In the vain hope that some fugitives from the wreck of the Cabul force might find their way within the sheltering walls of the British fort, the bugles were sounded at intervals during the following nights, and beacon fires were lit to guide the fainting steps of any survivors, but there were none, for, like Sennacherib's host, “ they were all dead men ! ”

“ Like the leaves of the forest when summer is green
That host with their banners at sunset were seen,
Like the leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay wither'd and strown.”

On the 26th January Captain Macgregor received a letter from Shah Soojah, at Cabul, written by the moonshee of the cabinet in official red ink, intimating that a treaty subsisted which bound the English to leave Afghanistan, and inquiring as to the intentions of the General and political agent. The messenger who carried the letter was well known to Macgregor, and brought him a verbal message from the Shah to the effect that he was so far in the hands of the predominant faction at the capital, as to be compelled to act towards us in a manner seemingly hostile, but he was anxious to ascertain what were our real views, that he might second them to the extent of his ability. On the following day a council of war was convened to consider this letter and to sanction a proposal which the political and military chiefs had determined to adopt, and

which had for its object the evacuation of Jellalabad. Marshman, in his *Life of Havelock*, has detailed the proceedings of this memorable council, and the passage gives Macgregor's reasons for proposing a withdrawal from Afghanistan, which appeared to him and General Sale sufficient warrant for changing their views since the 9th of January, when they sent their joint letter to Major Pottinger and General Elphinstone, declining to yield up Jellalabad. It should be borne in mind that, in the interval, not only had they received Colonel Wylde's communication giving up all hope of relieving them, but also a letter from the Government of India, in which the authorities gave small expectation of taking immediately any vigorous steps to retrieve the honour of the country and the relief of the beleaguered garrison. Marshman writes:—"At this memorable council of war, held on the 27th January, Sir Robert Sale said that he had called the officers together to discuss the measure on which Captain Macgregor and he were agreed. Captain Macgregor then explained the circumstances in which they were placed, without hope of any succour from their own Government, and stated that, though he reserved his right to act as he thought fit, he was anxious to hear the opinions of those present on the question. Captain Broadfoot urged with great vehemence that there was no ground for concluding that the Government of India had abandoned them, though its measures were very feeble. He insisted on the production of the letter from Calcutta, which was accordingly read; and it was found that the expressions employed in it were sufficiently strong to justify Captain Macgregor's assertion. The indignation against the Governor-General and the Government, including the Commander-in-Chief, but chiefly the Governor-General, went beyond all bounds. To men who had been labouring for ten weeks under the most appalling difficulties to hold Jellalabad for their own Government, and to maintain the honour of their country, it was intolerable to hear that their own rulers now coolly contemplated the policy of abandoning them to their fate." Ultimately the council, after a heated and prolonged debate, adjourned further consideration of the question to the following day.

When the Council again met, Captain Broadfoot, fortified by the opinion of Havelock, with whom he had taken counsel, renewed his opposition to the proposal. At the previous meeting, Captain Macgregor had produced the reply which he proposed to send to Shah Soojah, the purport of which was, that the British held Jellalabad and the country only for him,

and were now ready to return to India if he wished it. He proposed, therefore, to evacuate Jellalabad and Afghanistan forthwith, and to march out with colours, arms, and ammunition, under an escort commanded by one of the king's sons. He required that Mahomed Akbar Khan should evacuate the district of Lughman, in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad, before the troops retired from that fortress; he offered to give four hostages as a token of sincerity, and required that hostages should be given in return, an exchange to be effected at Peshawur; at the same time assistance was to be afforded in supplies and carriage. Captain Broadfoot reprobated any treaty whatever with the treacherous Afghans, but the majority of the members were opposed to this, and it was voted to treat. Captain Broadfoot then combated the terms of the reply, item by item, but succeeded only in expunging the proposal to give hostages, though Captain Macgregor had offered to become one of them. Finally, Broadfoot urged the necessity of insisting on the release of all prisoners as an indispensable condition of retirement; but this proposal was overruled from a persuasion that they would assuredly be surrendered on our reaching Peshawur. It was then determined, Captains Broadfoot, Oldfield, and Backhouse voting in the minority, that the letter should be transmitted to Cabul.

The reply from Shah Soojah arrived on the 8th February, and was to the effect that, if the officers were sincere in their intentions, they must affix their seals to the document. Since the despatch of their reply, however, the members of the council had dispassionately discussed their former proceedings among themselves, and, on again meeting, Captain Broadfoot, supported by Colonels Dennie and Monteith, commanding the 13th and 35th Regiments, and Captains A. Abbott and Oldfield, commanding the artillery and cavalry, with Captain Backhouse of the Mountain Train battery, carried a resolution to hold out to the last. This change of sentiment was also in some measure attributable to the result attending two successful forays, which had furnished the garrison with 700 head of sheep and 170 horned cattle.

Macgregor accordingly transmitted an answer to Cabul breaking off all negotiations for a surrender of the fortress. On the 13th February, intelligence was received of the appointment of General Pollock with full military and political powers in Afghanistan.

About this time their most dangerous [?]foe, Akbar Khan,

moved down into the surrounding valley, and threatened an attack. On the 19th February, a letter was received from General Pollock, in which he conveyed to Sir Robert Sale and Captain Macgregor the approbation of Government as regarded their reply of the 9th January to the orders from Cabul, which was expressed in the following terms:—

“His Lordship has been highly pleased to approve the judgment and spirit shown in their reply to the directions conveyed to them from Cabul.

“You will be pleased to make known to Major-General Sir Robert Sale and Captain Macgregor, the expression of the high approbation of Government by sending triplicate copies of this despatch to the former.

“His Lordship in Council anxiously hopes the Fort of Jellalabad will be maintained until it can be effectually succoured by the force detached under your command, aided hereafter by that now preparing to follow.”

On this very day, the 19th, a terrible and unexpected calamity befell the garrison. Sale and Macgregor were both engaged writing despatches, when an earthquake brought down the walls and ramparts of Jellalabad, and the work of months was shattered in a few minutes. Macgregor thus describes it in his despatch:—

“We have been visited by a very severe earthquake, which has in a great measure demolished two or three of our bastions, and nearly the whole of the parapet of the ramparts, to raise which cost the troops more than a couple of months of hard labour. A number of the houses of the town have been thrown down by the shock, and the small courtyard attached to the house in which the General and myself reside, is filled with the rubbish of a number of out-offices which fell crashing at our feet, we having sought the centre of the yard as a place of safety. It was with difficulty we could preserve our footing, so great was the undulating motion of the ground we stood upon. If this town had been seriously bombarded for a month, I don't think it could have suffered more than at present. I feel still giddy, although the earthquake took place a couple of hours ago. It is to be expected that on the enemy discovering the damage which our defences have sustained, they will be encouraged to attack us.”

But Macgregor was wrong in this supposition, for the earthquake had been more severely felt in the neighbourhood of Akbar's camp, where houses and forts had been demolished, and so demoralised had his troops become by this fearful visitation, that he

was scarcely able to keep them together. Not so with the garrison at Jellalabad. No sooner were the shocks over, than preparations were at once made for repairing the injury done to the works. Under Captain Broadfoot's directions, "the parapets were entirely restored by the end of the month, the Cabul gate again rendered serviceable, the bastions either restored, or the curtain filled in where restoration was impracticable, and every battery re-established." So rapidly were the works restored, that the Afghans declared that Jellalabad was the only place in the valley which had escaped the effects of the earthquake, a result they attributed to English witchcraft.

Early in the month of February, Macgregor received from Lord Auckland a private letter, in which he said:—"My dear Macgregor, I have been writing to Sir Robert Sale, and I am led, in consequence to write to you. You have been associated with him in all his late labours; you have, with him, rendered excellent service and done yourself much credit, and I may assure you that your character is highly and generally appreciated and regarded. . . . With your good assistance, General Sale and his excellent brigade have nobly maintained their position at Jellalabad. They have been assailed by difficulties of no ordinary character; and the cheerfulness, the spirit, and the success with which these difficulties have been encountered, are admired and upheld by all." This was not the first occasion on which his lordship had expressed his approval of Macgregor's conduct in an autograph letter. Soon after the successful conclusion of the Pushoot affair in February, and of the pacification of the Vazeeree chiefs of Kujjah, in August, 1840, the Governor-General wrote:—"I have often had it in my thoughts to write to you, and to tell you how warmly I feel the admirable manner in which, in a position of much difficulty, you have been acting for us, and how deeply we are all indebted to you. But I have not time for compliments, and will only say that you have fully justified the good opinion which from my first acquaintance I have entertained of you."

The spirited Government proclamation of the 31st January, in which Lord Auckland declared that he regarded the disasters that had befallen us, as so many new opportunities of demonstrating the military power of the British Empire in the East, inspired the garrison with fresh ardour. Writing of this feeling to General Pollock, on the 21st February, Macgregor says:—"The officers of the garrison came upon rations to-day. They are willing to brave all difficulties and dangers, now that they

feel certain that Government will resent the insult offered to our national honour by these rascally Afghans."

On the 7th March, Macgregor received a letter from the Shah's Durbar at Cabul, categorically demanding the evacuation of Jellalabad. In reply, he simply referred the question of capitulation to his superior, General Pollock, at Peshawur, who had been appointed to the supreme charge of military and political duties in Afghanistan. Affairs at this time looked very unpromising, for not only were they informed, by the messenger who brought the letter, that a large army, with artillery, was about to be despatched against them from the capital, but Akbar Khan himself had been gradually drawing nearer to the walls, and a rigid blockade had been established. Provisions had become scarce; ammunition was failing, and fodder for the horses not to be obtained. Sale and Macgregor had continued all through the month of February to exhort General Pollock to advance, but this he was utterly unable to do until his force was strengthened by the arrival of European cavalry at Peshawur. The General was placed in a painful position, in thus being obliged to resist the importunities of the military and political heads at Jellalabad, but he had no option without running the great risk of failure: and, fortunately, he had sufficient firmness to resist.

The 3rd Dragoons reached Pollock's camp on the 30th March, and, on the following day, he commenced his advance, while the eyes of all India were upon him. In the meantime, Akbar Khan had instituted so rigid a blockade, that, on the 10th March, Colonel Dennie issued from out the walls of Jellalabad with 800 men and drove off the enemy. The Sirdar then drew out his whole force and advanced to the attack. The guns from the ramparts, which Macgregor, with the skill of a practised artillery officer, assisted in working, poured a destructive fire on him, while both cavalry and infantry attacked the enemy and obliged them to fly.

On the 28th February, Lord Ellenborough arrived at Calcutta, and, having assumed the reins of government, issued, on the 15th March, a spirited manifesto, in which he announced that the course he intended to pursue with regard to Afghanistan "would rest solely on military considerations and regard to the safety of the detached bodies of our troops, to the security of those now in the field from all unnecessary risk, and finally to the establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans."

Before embarking for England, Lord Auckland did not forget

his old aide-de-camp. "I must," he said, "for my own satisfaction write a few lines to you before I leave India. There is nothing which, upon my departure, I shall regard with more solicitude than I shall your position, and that of Sir Robert Sale and the brave men under him, at Jellalabad—with your and their good courage, and with the pains which have been taken to help you, you should long ago have been safe, and I cannot doubt that you will yet be so; but I have had of late so much disappointment, that I can hardly have absolute confidence in anything. I will only further say that your conduct of your late most difficult duties has been highly approved—not by me and the Government only, but by all observers. You are already well assured, of my personal regard, but you may look further to my very high appreciation of your public character and services, of which I shall be proud, whenever it may be of advantage to you, to bear testimony."

On the 1st April, every trooper in the little garrison, and 200 men of the 13th, with the same number of the 35th, and the sappers, made a sudden sally on Akbar's cattle grazing near the fort, and, with very little opposition, drove in a flock of more than 500 sheep and goats, a piece of good luck which greatly elevated the spirits of the soldiers, who had been for some time on reduced rations of salt meat. Writing of this to General Pollock, Macgregor said, "Our troops of all arms are in the highest pluck, and they seem never so happy as when fighting with the enemy. I verily believe we could capture Mahomed Akbar's camp, even with our present means, were it our game to incur the risk of an attempt of the kind." This was lightly written by the political agent, and yet Pollock had scarce cleared the Khyber Pass when the jest had become an accomplished fact. But from day to day the state of affairs varied with kaleidoscopic suddenness. In a moment the hopes of succour and a quick return to India were dashed, and all seemed gloom and uncertainty. On the 5th April, Macgregor's spies brought him word that General Pollock had been defeated while attempting to force the Khyber, and had been driven back with great loss. On the following morning the Sirdar fired a royal salute of 21 guns in honour of the event, and, apparently, there could be no room for doubt as to the truth of the rumour. The position of the garrison was desperate, and they resolved, like Horatius, "the captain of the gate," if die they must, to sell their lives dearly.

"To every man upon the earth
Death cometh soon or late."

That night Captains Abbott and Oldfield appealed to Sir Robert Sale to make a sally and break up Akbar's encampment, and not remain to meet a slow death by starvation behind the walls of Jellalabad. But all their arguments failed to move Sale, who, though personally unacquainted with fear, shunned responsibility. These two fiery officers, who commanded the small artillery and cavalry force of the garrison, then proposed to Dennie and others that they should sally out in the morning, before the general was out of bed, and strike boldly for life and honour; but their rash proposals met with no response. However, their arguments had had the desired effect; Sale, who possessed the instincts of a soldier, sent for them, expressed his intention to make a sally at dawn of the 7th April, and stake all on the arbitrament of a pitched battle with the Afghans.*

The plan of the action, as laid down by Havelock, provided that the force should move out in three columns, and, without noticing the little forts in the intermediate space, make a sudden and vigorous attack on Akbar Khan, and drive his army into the river, which was then a rapid and unfordable torrent. The centre and left columns, mustering each 500 bayonets, were under Colonels Dennie and Monteith; and the right, numbering 360 men, under Captain Havelock. These were to be supported by the fire of Captain Abbott's Light Field Battery, and by the cavalry, 210 sabres, under Captain Oldfield.

Akbar Khan, with his army of 6,000 men, and 4 guns, was ready to receive the attacking force when it moved towards his camp at daybreak on the 7th. It was felt by the British that upon the result of the action their fate depended, and every precaution was taken to ensure a successful issue. Sir Robert Sale commanded in person, and Captain Macgregor, as he had so often done before, since he first entered the country in a purely political capacity, attached himself to Abbott's battery. At the distance of three-quarters of a mile from the town, a flanking fire was opened from one of the forts upon the centre column, and the general ordered Colonel Dennie to capture it. This the gallant officer did with all the noble daring that distinguished him, but fell mortally wounded while engaged in the endeavour to penetrate the fort. Havelock's column, meanwhile, moved on towards the enemy's encampment, and was thus exposed, without support, to the repeated charges of

* Kaye says this decision was arrived at by a council of war, which was convened specially to consider the question; but the truth of the statement is as stated above, and, in more ample detail, in the Author's narrative of *The Afghan War of 1838-42*, from the Journals and Correspondence of Major-General Augustus Abbott.

Akbar's cavalry, 1,500 in number. Abbott's guns advanced at a gallop to the support of the hardly-pressed little column, and the enemy speedily gave way on all sides. By 7 a.m. Akbar's camp and four guns were captured, his equipage was in flames, while he was in full retreat in the direction of Lughman.

Anxiety was now exchanged for security and confidence, and want for abundance. The chiefs throughout the valley hastened to make their submission, and the villagers poured supplies into the market, established without the walls. Thus the garrison of Jellalabad effected their relief by their own good swords. Their losses since leaving Cabul in October were, 4 officers and 110 men killed, and 16 officers and 384 men wounded.

Sir Robert Sale, in his report of the 10th April to the Secretary to Government, thus spoke of Macgregor's services in the field, and at the batteries as an artillery officer:—"I have more than once brought to notice that Captain Macgregor, political agent, has cheerfully rendered very able assistance in serving the guns in every crisis of pressing danger; of his labours in his own department, I ought not perhaps to constitute myself a judge, but I know they have been unremitting, and their result in obtaining for my force supplies and information, and keeping up our communication with India and Cabul, and securing for us Afghan co-operation, I may be allowed to appreciate, and am bound to point out to Government."

General Pollock having forced the Khyber Pass on the 5th April, arrived at Jellalabad on the 15th April, and found that the garrison had defeated and dispersed the enemy in the engagement of the 7th.

On hearing of Sale's victory over Akbar Khan, Lord Ellenborough issued the famous notification,* in which he conferred the title "illustrious" on the garrison, an epithet which has ever since been applied when speaking of its achievements.

* Thus it ran:—"That illustrious garrison, which, by its constancy in enduring privation, and by its valour in action, has already obtained for itself the sympathy and respect of every true soldier, has now, sallying forth from its walls, under the command of its gallant leader, Major-General Sir Robert Sale, thoroughly beaten in open field an enemy of more than three times their number, taken the standards of their boasted cavalry, destroyed their camp, and recaptured four guns, which, under circumstances which can never again occur, had during the last winter fallen into their hands. The Governor-General cordially congratulates the army upon the return of victory to its ranks. He is convinced that there, as in all former times, it will be found, while, as at Jellalabad, the European and Native troops mutually supporting each other, and evincing equal discipline and valour, are led into action by officers in whom they justly confide. The Governor-General directs that the substance of this notification, and of Major-General Sir Robert Sale's report, be carefully made known to all troops, and that a salute of 21 guns be fired at every principal station of the army."

Sale now ceased to command at Jellalabad, and Lord Ellenborough suspended the political functions of Macgregor, who was appointed aide-de-camp on Pollock's staff, for in the latter general and Nott, on either side of Afghanistan, had been vested supreme political as well as military authority. About the same time Macgregor received a letter from the Government of India, in which his services were thus handsomely acknowledged:—"I am directed by the Governor-General to offer to you his lordship's acknowledgments of the indefatigable zeal and assiduity, and the unbending spirit with which you executed your duty in Jellalabad from the entrance of Major-General Sir Robert Sale into that place to the period of its ultimate relief by the advance of the army under Major-General Pollock, and his lordship will be happy should any suitable opportunity offer itself of evincing his sense of your merit."

On the same day that he issued his notification, the Governor-General, with singular inconsistency, ordered Generals Pollock and Nott to withdraw from Afghanistan; but it is not our province to narrate here how the Governor-General vacillated in his Afghan policy for more than three months, from the 15th March to the 4th July.

During his enforced delay at Jellalabad, General Pollock had not been inactive, and Macgregor found congenial employment. In June, Brigadier Monteith, C.B. proceeded into the Shinwarree valley, to punish the tribes who had possessed themselves of the property plundered from the late Cabul force, and also one of our captured guns. Macgregor went with the column in a political capacity, in which his services were invaluable to Pollock, for no officer in the British army had so intimate a knowledge of the tribes around Jellalabad. Monteith descended into the valley with a strong column of European and Native troops, with a proportion of artillery. At the village of Ali-Boghan, the sight of some property that had belonged to our slaughtered army maddened them past control, and they began to plunder and fire the houses. The Brigadier and Macgregor interfered for the protection of the villagers, and the plundered property was restored. The people throughout the valley, believing that the British troops were about to fire all the villages, began to remove their property, and to fly in every direction from their homes; but confidence was restored by Captain Macgregor, who explained to them the pacific designs of his Government. It was necessary, however, that the captured gun and the plundered property should be recovered, and it was known that two of the principal chiefs of a place

called Goolai, were in possession of a portion of the treasure belonging to the Cabul force, while the captured gun was at Deh-Surruk; so it was determined that the brigade should march against these two places. On the morning of the 20th June, Monteith moved upon Goolai, and demanded the restitution of the plundered treasure. Evasive answers were received, and as there was no prospect of obtaining it by peaceful negotiation, the forts and houses were destroyed, the walls blown up, and the fruit-trees injured and left to perish. The retribution was thorough, and enduring in its effects.*

In the meantime the captured gun had been given up, and the people of Deh-Surruk, after some difficulty, disgorged upwards of 10,000 rupees, besides other property; a large quantity of grain, timber, boosa, and other requisites was also appropriated at Goolai. But the Shinwarrees had always been a refractory people, unwilling to pay revenue either to Barukzye chief or Suddozye prince, and it was thought advisable to read them a lesson. So Monteith harried the valley with fire and sword. "At one time" he wrote in his report, "the interiors of thirty-five forts were in a blaze along the valley."

On the 26th July the tribes made some resistance at a place called Mazcena, but were overcome after a spirited action; and, after some desultory fighting, the brigade returned to Jellalabad on the 3rd August. In expressing his thanks to Macgregor for the "zealous and valuable assistance" he had received, Brigadier Monteith added:—"Your accurate knowledge of the country and of the character and feelings of the people, together with the high estimation in which you were held by

* Macgregor gives the following as a justification of the harsh measure of destroying the trees, which were essential to render habitable the houses built beneath their grateful shade:—"All the injury we could do their forts and houses could, with facility, in a short time be repaired by them. From their proximity to the hills they could always obtain timber in abundance; and where water is plentiful they could rebuild easily the bastions we might blow up, and therefore a greater degree of punishment than this seemed to be necessary, and was completely within our power if we destroyed their trees—a measure which seems barbarous to a civilised mind; but in no other way can the Afghans be made to feel equally the weight of our power, for they delight in the shade of their trees. They are to be seen under them in groups during the summer all day long, talking, reading, weaving, and sleeping. Even women and children seek the shade of their trees. The Afghan mountaineer is not tangible to us in any other way. He removes his herds, flocks, and property to the hills on the shortest notice; and flies before our troops to places where he is inaccessible to them. The Goolai people, moreover, were deserving of no mercy. The amount of treasure they had plundered (viz. 18,000 or 20,000 rupees) was considerable. They had been very pertinacious in attacking Captain Ferris's cantonment; and equally so, subsequently, our troops at Jellalabad. Therefore the Brigadier determined at once to commence the work of destruction, desired that neither fort, house, tree, grain, nor *boosa* should be spared them. This assuredly was the best plan for preventing the necessities of harsh measures in future. Working parties from the brigade were accordingly appointed for this purpose."

all classes of them, strongly conduced to bring matters to a far more satisfactory termination than in the first instance my most sanguine expectations had led me to anticipate; and I have no hesitation in expressing it as an opinion, that if an equal degree of ability, good judgment and propriety of demeanour had on every occasion characterised the conduct of all those who served in the same department as yourself, much of the calamity which overwhelmed the British interests in this country might unquestionably have been avoided." Macgregor's services in catering for the brigade during its absence from Cabul, had also been invaluable, and between the 17th June and 3rd August, men and horses had entirely subsisted on the resources of the country. General Pollock, writing of the "very valuable service which Captain Macgregor had afforded on this and every other occasion," adds:—"From him every information was received regarding the country and its inhabitants, and through his exertions and influence supplies were procured, not only for the consumption of the brigade, but also a very valuable addition to the stores of the force of Jellalabad. During the greater part of the time this brigade was detached, he suffered from fever and ague, but he never allowed sickness to interrupt his duties for a day." Soon after Macgregor's return to camp at Jellalabad, the advance to Cabul was commenced, to the delight of the entire army, which had been alternately racked with indignation and exultation, according as the indecision at Government House pointed to a retrograde movement on India, or a forward march to avenge at the capital the disasters and disgrace of the previous winter.

Having received ample supplies of every description, General Pollock quitted Jellalabad for Cabul, on the 20th of August, with a column numbering 8,000 men of all arms, and 17 guns. On the 23rd he arrived at Gundamuck, and on the following morning, attacked and carried the village of Mamoo Khail, with a loss of only 57 officers and men killed and wounded. The villages of Mamoo Khail and Koochlee Khail were destroyed by fire, and the fruit trees cut down. Throughout the day, Macgregor, who served as aide-de-camp to the general, distinguished himself by his activity and zeal, and Pollock referring to his services, says:—"I am not only indebted for services in the field, but for valuable information, and for constant exertions to obtain supplies for the force, which his local knowledge and personal acquaintance with the Maliks enables him to give."

The troops now moved up by brigades to Gundamuck, and the general only awaited a letter from Nott informing him that he

had set his face towards Cabul, in order to march on the capital. On the night of the 7th of September, the long-expected missive arrived, and, on the following morning, Pollock moved with the first division of his army, under the immediate command of Sir Robert Sale. The second division, under General McCaskill, marched the next day, accompanied by a portion of the Sikh contingent under Captain Henry Lawrence. On the 8th of September, Pollock once more encountered the Afghans with the first division of his army, and at Jugdulluck, the spot where eight months before, the ferocious Ghilzyes had butchered the almost helpless remnant of a British force, their countrymen avenged their sufferings, and rehabilitated the honour of the flag. The enemy attempted to make a stand on what they considered an inaccessible peak, but were driven in confusion and slaughter from the heights.

On the 11th of September, Pollock concentrated his army at Tezeen, the valley at the commencement of the defile of the Khoord-Cabul. Akbar Khan, who, on finding the futility of all efforts to treat, had despatched the bulk of his English prisoners to the Hindoo Koosh, to be sold into slavery, had intended to make his decisive stand at Boothak and on the ridges of the Khoord-Cabul, but, mistaking General Pollock's halt of one day to refresh his men for indecision or pusillanimity, imprudently advanced to Tezeen. On the 13th of September, the contending forces met, and the superiority of British troops over Afghans, when ably handled, received a striking exemplification. Two days later the army was encamped on the Cabul racecourse, and Akbar Khan, who saw that all was lost, fled to the Ghorebund valley with a handful of followers.

General Pollock hoisted the British standard on the topmost tower of the Bala Hissar on the 15th of September, and Nott arrived on the following day, and encamped on the opposite side of the city. As soon as Akbar's prisoners, who had effected their own release, were brought safely into the camp, where they were received with a royal salute and the congratulations of the entire army, preparations were made for a speedy return to the provinces. The only military exploit during these few days was the reduction of the fortress of Istaliff in the Kohistan country, by a force under General McCaskill. It was in the Kohistan that the Goorkha corps, with its officers, had been slaughtered to a man, when Major Pottinger and Lieutenant Haughton, though severely wounded, made their almost miraculous escape.

On the march of Pollock's army from Gundamuck, Futteh Jung, a son of Shah Soojah, who had been placed on the throne

on the murder of his father, made his escape from Cabul, and threw himself on the protection of the British commander. The miserable and half-imbecile youth had been a mere puppet in the hands of the imperious and able Akbar Khan, who, assuming the title of Wuzeer, forced the nominal sovereign to obey him in everything. Though it was not the policy of the British Government to interfere again openly in the establishment of any prince on the throne, yet both Pollock and Macgregor, who was his adviser in political affairs, considered that so long as the British were at Cabul, it was incumbent on them to establish some kind of central authority. Futtch Jung was, accordingly, installed Ameer, Pollock, Macgregor, and other officers being present at the ceremony, but so careful was the general to avoid affording to this prince and his adherents any hope of further assistance from the British Government, that Macgregor was deputed to wait on Futtch Jung, after the Durbar, and enter into a definite explanation of General Pollock's views. Major (now Major-General Sir Henry) Rawlinson, who had acted all through the Afghan troubles with singular good judgment and success, as political agent at Candahar with General Nott's force, wrote as follows of these proceedings in his diary :—"I met Macgregor on my way to the camp, coming into the Bala Hissar, with all the chiefs to make their salaam to Shah Futtch Jung, as he is now called, and I now hear that Macgregor, who conducts all the political duties of General Pollock's camp, endeavoured, in a private audience which he had of his Majesty after the Durbar, to come to an explanation with him regarding our inability to support him with men, money, or arms, and the necessity, in consequence, of his relying entirely on his own resources."

But Futtch Jung was incapable of ruling so restless a people as the Afghans, and returned to India with the retiring army; indeed, hardly had the British troops evacuated Afghanistan than his successor, Shahpoor, followed him to Peshawur, and Akbar Khan ruled the land until the return of his father, Dost Mahomed, who had been released from captivity. General Pollock quitted Cabul on his return to India on the 16th of October, leaving an indelible mark of a nation's retribution by blowing up the great Bazaar, the finest building of the kind in the country. The army marched through Afghanistan without meeting any opposition of moment, and, on the 17th of December, the "illustrious garrison" defiled over the bridge of boats on the Sutlej, and Lord Ellenborough received them on British territory with every mark of distinction. A vast army

had been drawn up on the great plain of Ferozepore under the personal direction of Sir Jasper Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief. Triumphant arches had been erected, and a street of 250 elephants, gorgeously caparisoned, had been formed, through which marched the heroes of Jellalabad, headed by the gallant Sale, each regiment in succession of the army of reserve saluting their war-worn comrades.

Crosses and stars, well and worthily earned, were showered upon the victorious leaders in this memorable war, with its dramatic episodes. Nott, Sale, and Pollock received the G.C.B., but in the opinion of many, the rejoicings were marred by the prejudiced exclusiveness of the Governor-General, who, giving way to the popular feeling of the hour, set his face against the political officers, no matter what their services. Thus, with all his admiration of the "illustrious garrison," Lord Ellenborough slighted Macgregor. It was not from want of honourable mention that Macgregor was thus passed over; not only from the generous-hearted Sale had his services received due appreciation, but from Pollock also, who, for the second time, mentioned him favourably in his despatch from Boothlak, on the 14th of September, the day after Akbar Khan's final rout at Tezeen. Again, while at Ferozepore, Pollock, on transmitting to the Governor-General the accounts of the expenditure of the Jellalabad revenue, drawn up by Macgregor, once more draws attention to the ability with which he had discharged his duties. "From the day," he writes, "on which Major-General Sir Robert Sale, G.C.B. defeated Mahomed Akbar (the 7th of April, 1842), until I advanced on Cabul from Gundamuck (6th of September, 1842), the whole of the details connected with the revenue of the valley of Jellalabad were carried on by Major Macgregor, and I cannot abstain from bearing testimony to the very able manner in which he discharged this duty. His knowledge of the resources of the country enabled me to feed an army of nearly 15,000 men for six months. In addition to the revenue details, Major Macgregor conducted correspondence with the neighbouring chiefs and the duties of Persian interpreter, his appointment being that of aide-de-camp, from the time his political functions were abolished, viz., the 16th of June, 1842."

But Macgregor had other friends who were capable of discriminating between an unsuccessful and successful public officer, even though he was in the political department. Lord Auckland interested himself on his behalf with Lord Fitzgerald, President of the Board of Control, from whom he received, on the 3rd October, the following letter:—"You expressed a wish in

favour of Captain Macgregor, whose conduct at Jellalabad I agree with you in thinking most meritorious. There were difficulties with respect to his promotion; being only a lieutenant,* he could not receive the brevet rank of major, while without that rank, he was ineligible for the Order of the Bath. The Duke of Wellington has, however, consented to follow the precedent in the case of Major Pottinger, who was distinguished at Herat, and Macgregor will have the local rank of major in Afghanistan, which will qualify him for the Companionship of that Order. I mention this to you, as you expressed so strong an opinion on the subject, which was an additional reason for my urging his promotion." Macgregor was accordingly gazetted a "local" major, and created a Companion of the Bath.

Thus was concluded the series of events connected with the expedition to Afghanistan, and the consequent war extending over a period of four years, from the 1st October, 1838, when Lord Auckland issued his famous Simla Manifesto, to the 1st October, 1842, when his successor, Lord Ellenborough, with a weak desire for dramatic effect as regarded the date, indited another Manifesto from the same pleasant hill-station and from the self-same house, in which he exposed, with questionable propriety, the errors of the policy of his predecessor. And the results of this vast expenditure of blood and treasure, effecting, on the one hand, the impoverishment of India and saddling her with a large debt, and on the other, causing the almost utter ruin of Afghanistan, was simply—nil. Macgregor's experiences had been varied both as regards his own fortunes, and those of the sovereign princes he had seen deposed and slain. The words Shakespeare puts into the mouth of one of his creations might well be repeated by him—

"Let us sit upon the ground,
And tell sad stories of the death of kings,
How some have been depos'd, some slain in war."

Opinions may, and do differ widely as to the degree of blame attaching to the various parties engaged in concocting and bringing to maturity the monstrous *fiasco*, known to history as the Afghan expedition; since the bubble burst, the question has been discussed with acerbity by both the English and Indian press, and all its authors and finishers have repudiated the parentage of the ill-fated bantling. The first military

* He was still only a regimental lieutenant, though bearing the local rank of captain in Afghanistan.

disasters must be placed chiefly at the doors of the military leaders, but much mystery still attaches as to who were the personages that moulded and set in motion the scheme that broke down so signally in the winter of 1841. At one time it was sought to throw the odium on Sir Alexander Burnes, who had been on a commercial mission to Cabul; but papers since come to light have proved incontestably, that the imputation cast on this able and ill-fated servant of the Company was unfounded. Neither can it be said that Lord Auckland's secretaries, the late Sir William Colvin and Sir William Macnaghten, were responsible for the initiation of this policy, although they never ceased to importune their chief to undertake the perilous enterprise. The Governor-General also, although he eventually listened to the counsellings of his secretaries, was averse from embarking in the expedition; for some months he turned a deaf ear to his advisers, though his scruples were, at length, overcome by their specious arguments, and he weakly threw aside the promptings of his better judgment. It is well-known that his master, the Company, and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, were also strongly opposed to the enterprise. It is, therefore, at the door of the Home Government, that the political crime of devising and ordering this infatuated policy must be laid. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, (afterwards Lord Hobhouse) the friend of Byron, and Whig President of the Board of Control, when interrogated on the subject by a committee of the House of Commons, said, "Alone I did it." He it was then, who, backed up by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary in Lord Melbourne's Government, and in spite of the Duke of Wellington's remonstrances, is responsible for the initiation of a scheme which contemplated the establishment of British ascendancy in Central Asia under the following conditions:— That an army should be retained in a country, one of the most sterile and poverty-stricken in the world, and inhabited by a restless and warlike race. That the greater portion of the army of occupation should consist of Sepoys, who, during the winter months, when the climate was almost of Siberian severity, would be almost helpless from the cold. That this army should be supplied with stores and the *matériel* of war from arsenals, the nearest of which was some 800 miles distant, so that every pound of powder and every round of shot would have to be carried on the backs of camels through a succession of tremendous defiles, the like of which could be found in no other part of the world. That not only the races who inhabited these passes, the Afreedees and the Ghilzyes, would have to be

conciliated on their own terms, but also the rulers of the Punjaub who, at any moment, might have closed their country against us, and so rendered impracticable all communication or retreat, save by the Kojuck and Bolan Passes. Given these conditions, it was a question for statesmen to solve whether the conquest and occupation of Afghanistan should be undertaken, and the question was solved in the affirmative. It is to be devoutly hoped that now * Lord Lawrence has vacated the Viceregal throne, the new occupant of the "musnud" will be equally cautious, and, as far as undertaking any military enterprise on Afghanistan is concerned, will adopt the policy of "masterly inactivity," distasteful though it be to our Indian army. Lord Mayo has met Shere Ali the present Ameer of Afghanistan at Umballa in grand Durbar, and while presenting him with gifts of the value of a lac of rupees, has expressed a hope that the interview would be the commencement of a new era of confidence. The Viceroy has also, doubtless, privately given him to understand the conditions on which the friendship, and alliance of England, together with the annual subsidy of twelve lacs of rupees, and a certain amount of arms and ammunition, are to be continued; this we may, perhaps, none the less credit, because the telegraph informs us that the Viceroy's Council has decided against making a personal treaty with Shere Ali, or sending a British Resident to Cabul.

To return to the fortunes of the subject of this memoir.

Soon after his return from Afghanistan, Major Macgregor proceeded to England on leave of absence for three years, necessitated by his state of health. Before embarking in March, 1843, he received a gratifying letter from Sir George Pollock in acknowledgment of the assistance he had afforded him in the late campaign. Sir George said: "As you are about to proceed to Calcutta, I cannot allow you to go without expressing how much I feel indebted to you for your invaluable aid during the past eventful year; the information you gave me, even before I entered the Khyber Pass, was of the utmost importance with reference to the state of affairs, and since I joined you at Jellalabad, although removed from the political branch of the service, your knowledge of the country, of its resources and of the different chiefs, not only in the vicinity of Jellalabad, but during our progress to Cabul, and on our return, enabled me to provide for the wants of the army in a manner that could hardly be anticipated, surrounded as we have occasionally been by

* This was written in 1869, and is now republished verbatim, as recent events appear to justify the wisdom of Lord Lawrence's policy.

the enemy, and at all times, by faithless friends. It would have afforded me great pleasure had your eminent services been rewarded by a situation which might have induced you to remain in India; but it is, perhaps, better, after the severe illness you experienced at Jellalabad, that you should recruit your health in your native country before you encounter another hot season here, and whenever you do return, I have no doubt the repeatedly recorded services you have rendered the Government during a period of severe trial and danger will insure to you the reward you so justly merit."

PART II.

Macgregor as Political Assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence—Appointment to the Agency at Moorshedabad—The Indian Mutiny—The Nawab Nazim of Bengal and Colonel Macgregor—On Service with Jung Bahadur—Capture of Goruckpore—The Goorkha Contingent at Lucknow—Return to England.

DURING Major Macgregor's absence from India stirring events had occurred, and it was evident that events still more momentous were on the eve of accomplishment. To take part in these he returned to India through Egypt, by the steamer which left Southampton in the month of November, 1845,* but was too late to participate in the operations on the Sutlej, which, in less than four months, settled the fate of a powerful kingdom.

After Runjeet Singh's death in 1839, he was succeeded by his son, Kurruck Singh, a weak-minded man, who died on the 5th November, 1840, and gave place to his son, Nao Nehal Singh, a young man of great accomplishments and promise, who was killed by an accident when returning from the obsequies of his father. He was succeeded by Shere Singh, governor of Cashmere, and forthwith there ensued five years of rapine, murder, and debauchery. Runjeet Singh had left behind him an army of 82,000 regular troops, who had been trained and disciplined after the European model by French and Italian officers, together with a magnificent park of 370 guns.

For years, the people and the Government alike had been at the mercy of the army, the exactions and oppressions of which were unbounded. The conquest of Scinde brought us closer to their borders, and the Ranee—the mother of the infant Maharajah Dhuleep Singh—and the Durbar urged the troops to cross the Sutlej, and indulge their predilections for loot at the expense of the wealthy cities in British India. Accordingly, in November, 1845, they poured across the Sutlej and threatened Ferozepore. Then ensued the sanguinary actions of Moodkee;

* During the year 1845 Major Macgregor married a daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Whitehead, K.C.B., of Uplands Hall, Lancashire.

Ferozeshuhur, the affair of Buddiwal, and the battle at Aliwal; a succession of engagements, crowned by the decisive victory at Sobraon, when 8,000 Sikhs perished, and the cause of the Khalsa appeared as if lost for ever. Sobraon was fought on the 10th February, 1846, and Macgregor joined the army of the Sutlej too late to take part in its glories.

The question of the destinies of the conquered kingdom now came up for consideration; and Lord Hardinge, in a spirit of merciful, and, for a Governor-General, unprecedented forbearance, spared its independence. A fine was exacted from the Durbar to meet the expenses of the war. The Jullundur Doab, a large territory between the Sutlej and the Beas, was annexed to our dominions, while Cashmere was assigned to Goolâb Singh, the Rajah of Jummoo, in consideration of his paying a portion of the indemnity the Lahore Durbar were unable to meet. Colonel Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident at Lahore, and Macgregor was gazetted one of his assistants. Another stipulation of the treaty of the 9th March was, that a British force of 10,000 men was to be maintained for one year at the capital till order within the country was restored. Macgregor remained at Lahore in political charge of this army.

The difficulty of maintaining order in a country swarming with a disbanded soldiery, who, notwithstanding their recent defeats, were not yet sufficiently humbled to recognise the new order of things, was very considerable, but Henry Lawrence and his able band of assistants—which numbered, besides Macgregor, such men as his two brothers, John and George, Herbert Edwardes, James Abbott, John Nicholson and a host of others, who have since made themselves famous—did not quail at the difficulty of the task, but set to work manfully to evolve order out of chaos. In April, 1846, soon after his appointment, Macgregor was exposed to great personal danger, owing to an outburst of religious bigotry occasioned by the killing of kine for the use of the British troops. Colonel Henry Lawrence, writing to a friend, says of this affair:—"I look upon it that what did much to insure the peace of the town of Lahore in 1846, was my hanging the Brahmin ringleader of the Cow row in April, 1846, when the shops of the city were shut, and Macgregor, Edwardes, and I were brick-batted. I doubt if the first day at Cabul presented a worse aspect than Lahore did that day, when the streets swarmed with armed men attempting to kill us."

In the latter part of the year, it was found that the Wuzoor Lall Singh, a paramour of the Ranee's, was plotting against

us ; he was accordingly removed as a prisoner, and a new form of government was established, to extend over the minority of the Maharajah, during which the administration of the country was to be almost entirely vested in the hands of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was at this time *de facto* ruler of the Punjab. A Council of Regency, composed of eight leading Sikh chiefs, was indeed established, "acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident," whose power was "to extend over every department, and to any extent." Macgregor was appointed to the important post of principal assistant to the Resident at Lahore, and Sir Henry Lawrence, speaking of him and the other officers placed under his orders, says :—"They are men such as you will seldom find anywhere, but when collected under one administration, were worth double and treble the number taken at hap-hazard. Each was a good man ; the most were good officers." And again, "I was very fortunate in having my assistants, all of whom were my friends, and almost every one of whom were introduced into the Punjab through me."

In February, 1848, Lord Hardinge and Sir Henry Lawrence both quitted India. Major Macgregor also in this year was appointed to the post of Resident at Benares, and so missed taking part in the memorable Punjab campaign of 1848-49, when the power of the Khalsa soldiery was finally crushed at the crowning victory of Goojerat, and the whole of the "country of the five rivers" was annexed to the British dominions. Soon after Macgregor was reappointed to the Punjab, as Deputy-Commissioner at Lahore, once more serving under his friend, Sir Henry Lawrence, who, having returned to India, was reinstated in his old province as President of the Board of Administration. The task before the Board and the body of able and experienced men serving under it, was of no common proportions, and never was one more successfully accomplished ; the late Sir Henry Lawrence has himself described in the *Calcutta Review*, (Vol. XXII.), the great improvements he wrought during his administration, and it is a wonderful history of laborious industry, and high statesmanlike purpose, crowned with a success that caused the Punjab to be regarded as the best governed province in India. Macgregor was as zealous in his duties as Deputy-Commissioner as he had ever been, and gained the thanks of his immediate superiors for the conscientious manner in which he discharged his duties. Mr. (now Sir Robert) Montgomery, the Commissioner at Lahore, acknowledged these qualities, and, in sending him extracts from his annual

report for the Board of Administration for the year 1849, commenting on the official character of the different officers in Macgregor's district, says:—"It affords me at the same time the highest gratification to make known to you the high opinion the most noble the Governor-General entertains of your services, and I feel that the success which has been attributed to me as head of the division, is chiefly due to your zealous and active exertions, without which I could have done but little, and I beg you will accept my thanks for the hearty co-operation I have at all times received from you."

Lord Dalhousie, besides expressing his commendation to the successful officer, was desirous of rewarding his meritorious services, and, in the latter part of 1852, offered for his acceptance the highly-paid office of agent to the Governor-General with the Nawab Nazim, at Moorsshedabad, rendered vacant by the unexpected death of Mr. H. Torrens. Lord Dalhousie says in his letter:—"It is a political office, and as I have been led to believe that you would prefer to return to that line of employment, I shall be happy to nominate you, if the office should be agreeable to you. The labour is not severe, and the salary is 3,000 rupees. It requires the exercise of temper, tact, and sometimes firmness: and by an active officer who takes an interest in his work, may be made a useful office. In these respects, I am confident, you would do justice to it, and it will give me pleasure to acknowledge your public services by placing you in it."

Macgregor was in Cashmere at the time of the Governor-General's offer of this appointment. He had been despatched to this province by Sir Henry Lawrence on a mission requiring tact and decision, and performed it in a manner that drew forth the hearty commendation of the Board of Administration.*

In 1853 Macgregor received his promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel after a service extending over twenty-seven years. He remained at Moorsshedabad during the most trying period of the Indian Mutiny, and, in December 1857, sent in his papers of resignation, intending to return to England, which he had only once visited during his lengthened service.

* The Board, in a letter of thanks, stated that "they consider it to be owing to your judicious and conciliatory conduct that no unpleasant circumstance whatever occurred during your residence. In the concourse of numerous visitors and their transactions with the people of the country, your presence has preserved harmony throughout, and fully proves that your deputation has answered its end. This the Board have already had the gratification of reporting to Government, and they cannot let pass the opportunity of conveying to you before you quit this territory, their sincere thanks for the various important services which you have rendered during the period of their official connection with you."

It is almost impossible now to realise the critical condition of affairs during the period that Colonel Macgregor filled his responsible position at the court of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, but an insight is given by the following extract of a private letter, dated 19th May 1857, addressed by Lord Canning to Lord Elgin:—"Our hold of Bengal, and the Upper Provinces, depends upon the turn of a word—a look. An indiscreet act, or irritating phrase from a foolish commanding officer at the head of a mutinous, or disaffected, company, may, while the present condition of things at Delhi lasts, lead to a general rising of the native troops in the Lower Provinces, where we have no European strength, and where an army in rebellion would have everything its own way for weeks and months to come. . . . The critical moments are now, and for the next ten or twelve days to come!" During this crisis the Nawab Nazim of Bengal remained loyal, and his conduct should not be forgotten in our reprobation of his moral peccadilloes, at a later period, when residing in London in order to press his claims against the India Office, as he considered them affected* by the treaty of 1770.* About 6 miles distant from the city of Moorshedabad—in which was situated the palace of the representative of the line of Soubahdars, the old rulers of Bengal—was the cantonment of Berhampore, garrisoned entirely by native troops, the 19th Native Infantry, and the 11th Irregular Cavalry. Early in 1857 the former was moved to Barrackpore, being replaced by the 63rd Native Infantry. No European troops were in the station or near it, so that Moorshedabad, with its vast native population and the underlings of a wealthy Mohammedan native court, was in every way ripe for mutiny, had the Nawab Nazim given the signal. But Colonel Macgregor was by the side of the Mohammedan prince, and whatever might have been his conduct under more feeble tutelage, happily for the English, and not less happily for himself, he remained true to his salt. On the 1st August 1857, the 90th Regiment and a detachment of the Indian Naval Brigade, with 4 guns, under Commander Batt, I.N., arrived at Berhampore, and the two mutinous regiments were disarmed, the cavalry being also deprived of their horses. Soon after, the retainers of the Nawab Nazim and the fanatical population of the city of Moorshedabad were

* Many eminent men pronounced against the justice of the claims of the Nawab Nazim, whose wholesale system of bribing and "nobbling" the press completely estranged from him all honest men. In 1864 Sir Charles Wood declared that the treaty of 1770, concluded with a boy ten years of age was "personal," and the Duke of Argyll upheld this interpretation.

disarmed, and a great danger was thus averted. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Halliday, reporting on the condition of affairs throughout his province, says of the services of Colonel Macgregor and of the Nawab Nazim acting on his advice — "On the 21st June (1857) when his Highness was under the impression that the two native regiments had mutinied, and when there was a general excitement at Moorsshedabad caused by the same impression, he at once made all his preparations for resisting the supposed mutineers in case they went to Moorsshedabad, and also took measures to prevent any rising in the city, co-operating with the magistrate with promptitude and zeal for that purpose. While reporting the above services, the agent, Lieutenant-Colonel Macgregor, C.B., stated: 'It is with great pleasure that I have observed that his Highness has always been most anxious to render every assistance in his power to the British Government on any emergency.' On the occasion of the magistrate of Moorsshedabad undertaking the task of disarming the city in the early part of August, 1857, after the troops at Berhampore had been disarmed, the agent to the Governor-General requested the Nawab Nazim to disarm his disciplined troops, who were men of the same kind as those of the regiments that had mutinied. His Highness most readily and cheerfully gave the order for disarming; and it was promptly and effectually carried out by the Nizamut Dewan, who sent the arms to Berhampore through the agent. The Government of Bengal gave credit for this to both the agent and the Nawab. The measure produced so excellent an effect, that the magistrate accomplished his difficult task without resistance and without the aid of European troops."

But work of a more congenial character was in store for Colonel Macgregor, and, before quitting the country where he had passed the greater portion of his life, he was destined to renew the exciting scenes of 1841-42, and take part in the capture of a city which had shortly before been held by a detachment of troops and civilians who have earned a meed of glory which outvies even that attaching to the "illustrious garrison" of Jellalabad. The final act of the great drama of the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was about to be played out, and Macgregor took a leading part in the mighty tragedy. Lord Canning, in a flattering letter, dated 4th December, 1857, requested him to undertake the duties of Military Commissioner of the British Government with the headquarters of the Nepaulese army, then forming under command of the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, (the "Lord of War") to assist in the opera-

tions in Oude. The Governor-General had learned that Macgregor had sent in an official application for permission to retire from active service, the state of his health being far from satisfactory, and, referring to this, he said:—"I might, indeed, in any case have hesitated to sanction in these times the retirement from active service of an able and experienced officer; but in your case, it is not only a general principle that stands in the way, but the fact that the Government has urgent occasion for your services; and unless you should feel unequal to the task which I am about to propose to you, I should not be doing my own duty in consenting to forego the claim to them."

His Lordship then detailed the duties of the post as follows: "The Nepaulese Durbar are about to send a force of 9,000 men, or somewhat more, into the plains as an auxiliary force, to co-operate with the troops of the Indian Government. Some British officers will be attached to it in a purely military capacity; but the chief officer will be political rather than military. He will remain with Jung Bahadoor, and will be the channel of communication between Jung Bahadoor and the Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief. His duty will not be heavy, nor, I should hope, disagreeable; but it will require tact, temper, and knowledge of native character for the efficient discharge of it, and there is no person to whose hands I could confide it so gladly as to your own. The Nepaulese force will be at Segowlee between the 20th and 24th of this month. It will be directed first against Goruckpore. When that place and district shall have been recovered, it will probably move to the southern borders of Oude; but this is uncertain as yet, and must depend upon the circumstances of the moment. No European troops will be joined to it at first; certainly not until it has disposed of Goruckpore, and at no time is the number likely to be large. But there will be some officers attached to it as soon as possible; probably some artillery, and in any case, some medical officers. Jung Bahadoor will command the force in person. He will act according to the plans and directions of the European general, with whom he may have to co-operate, whether the Commander-in-Chief or any other; or as the Governor-General in Council may desire. The duration of the campaign of the Nepaulese army, it is impossible to foretell; but should the fatigue be such as to try you too hardly, you may trust to any appeal for release being liberally heard. I shall consider that very much will have been gained by launching our new relations with Jung Bahadoor under your care. If there is any officer whom you wish to have

as aide-de-camp and secretary, he shall, if available, be placed at your disposal. It will not be possible for you to reach Segowlee by the time of Jung Bahadoor's arrival there, I fear, although this would be desirable. . . . In any case (assuming always that there is no fatal impediment to your acceptance of the charge) I beg you to move as soon as possible, and to let me know what plan of proceeding you propose."

Disregarding his state of health Macgregor at once closed with the offer, upon which the Governor-General appointed him a brigadier-general, and placed at his disposal the services of Captain McAndrew, as staff officer and secretary. With the utmost promptitude he left Benares, and arrived at Segowlee, joining Jung Bahadoor's camp on the 24th December. This prince had been encamped here since the 21st, with an army of 10,000 Goorkhas, consisting of fourteen regiments of infantry, and four batteries of artillery. The Maharajah, on General Macgregor's arrival, held a grand Durbar in his honour, and then reviewed his troops. The display was very brilliant, the Nepaulese prince and his generals being attired in most gorgeous costumes, richly ornamented with jewels, while the movements of the several regiments were pronounced by competent authority to be "very creditable." The order and quietude of the Goorkha camp elicited the admiration of the British officers attached to the several brigades, who were also greatly pleased with the frank and open manners of His Highness, forming, as they did, so marked a contrast to the cunning Rajahs of the plain. Lord Canning wrote a letter to Macgregor, thanking him for his promptitude, and requesting him "at the first opportunity after receiving his letter, to make my compliments to Jung Bahadoor, (I daresay he will remember that is English for Salaam) and offer his Highness my hearty welcome upon his arrival within British territory."

The Goorka army marched from the camp at Bettiah, on the 26th December, for Goruckpore. The crossing of the river Gunduck, on that day, was an arduous task, from the difficult nature of the ground, and the width of the river, which, from bank to bank was not less than one mile and a half broad, of which one mile was a dry sandy bed, and the remainder water. Transporting the enormous mass of baggage of the army was a duty that taxed all the energies of the European officers of the commissariat department; temporary piers of bjmboo had to be erected as stages along the river's edge, from which the guns and carts, the latter numbering more than 2,000, were embarked in boats. Three days were occupied in this work. On the

night of the 26th, there was a skirmish at the village of Sahib-gunj, four miles distant from the right bank, when the rebels were dislodged with small loss. It was evident, as reported, that "there is no backwardness on the part of the Goorkhas to fight; indeed, their eagerness requires to be checked." On the 30th December, the entire baggage and guns were across, and, on the arrival of the little army before Goruckpore, the attack on the station and city was commenced.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 6th January 1858, the force left its camp of the previous night, amid a thick fog, which had entirely dispersed by the time the troops arrived at the jungle, about two miles and a half in front. There a brigade, under Brigadier Ram Singh, accompanied by Captain Plowden, the British officer in charge, was sent by a road to the right to turn the enemy's left flank, and a brigade, under Brigadier Summuck Singh, accompanied by Captain Edmonstone, to turn their right flank by a road to the left; a third brigade under Brigadier Junga Doge, accompanied by Lieutenant Foote, and supported by the guns, under Colonel Loll Singh, accompanied by Major Fitzgerald, marching by the main road. Shortly after entering the jungle, which was very thick, the centre column was stopped at a nullah where the road led over a bridge, about fifteen feet of the superstructure of which had been torn away by the enemy, leaving, however, the main beams intact. Here the enemy had taken post to prevent our ally's further progress; but the Nepaulese guns opened on them, ably handled by Loll Singh, commanding the Maharajah's artillery, of whom the Brigadier-General spoke in his report to Government, as having "proved himself a good artillery officer." He brought his guns well forward into action, and served them with a rapidity and precision which silenced those opposed to him, and drove the enemy from his position. On the advance of the infantry through the nullah, the rebels fled with precipitation and abandoned a gun, which fell into the hands of the centre brigade. From this the enemy fled through the jungle, pursued by the Goorkhas at their utmost speed, but the road being sandy and heavy, Pandya got well away. After passing the bridge, the centre column was joined by the two flanking ones in succession, and the whole pressed forward to the front at a running pace. The bridge was then repaired, and the baggage began to cross. (

On the head of the column emerging from the jungle, a party of the enemy was observed on the left, between whom and the Nepaulese skirmishers long shots were exchanged, until the

guns of the leading brigade coming up, a few rounds from them soon sent the enemy to the right about. The leading brigade then pushed forward, and as the ground rose a little at its crest, the station of Goruckpore came into view. Here the rebels opened on the advancing column from a small tope in front, about 700 yards distant, with great accuracy. Two guns were immediately brought to the front, and two more shortly after, when the enemy abandoned a gun and fled, accompanied by a small body of horse. On capturing this gun the division was about to halt, agreeably to the orders from the Maharajah, when fresh instructions were received to push on and intercept the rebels at the ghaut. The troops marched forward, passed a strong entrenchment, which would have cost many lives if the enemy had had the resolution to defend it, and reached the ghaut on the river as a number of Sepoys were endeavouring to push off for the other side. At one place a large party tried to rush up the banks, and effect an escape into the fields, but were intercepted by the Goorkhas and cut to pieces. The great majority of the fugitives, however, jumped into the river, where they were shot down in great numbers. Macgregor reported that 300 or 400 must have been killed there, "the river being at one time literally covered with dead bodies."

The Brigadier-General wrote in high terms of the conduct of our gallant little allies. Of Colonel Loll Singh, commanding the artillery, we have already spoken. Captain Suzan Singh, his second in command, directed the guns on the rising ground at the entrance of the station, and "his very effective fire was much admired by the officers present." But Brigadier Junga Doge, who commanded the leading brigade, reaped, conjointly with the artillery, the principal honours of the day. "He led his men," said Macgregor, "steadily in advance, captured the first gun at the bridge, and was the first to overtake the rebels at the ghaut." The British officers accompanying the different brigades, of course did their duty, and he particularised the services of Lieutenant Foote,—who "greatly distinguished himself, exerting himself constantly to get the men into order, and keep them steady in their ranks,"—of Mr. Bird, of the Civil Service, whose knowledge of the locality was invaluable, of Major Fitzgerald, and of Captain McAndrew, who was with the leading brigade during the whole of the action, and was the "first man who reached the ghaut on the river." Thus the station of Goruckpore was re-occupied, and the rebel Nazim Mahomed Hussein, totally defeated, and his followers dispersed.

Lord Canning, in publishing the despatches relating to these

operations, notified his thanks to Jung Bahadoor and his brave officers and troops, and then proceeded "to acknowledge the obligation of the Government of India to Brigadier-General Macgregor, C.B., whose ability and good judgment in a charge of no small responsibility were conspicuous." The Nepaulese troops remained at Goruckpore a short time, and detachments were sent out to Bustie and Nicholowlie, to collect supplies for the onward move into Oude, and to punish a hostile chief, formerly a Nepaulese rebel, against whom Jung Bahadoor was particularly eager to operate. In the meantime order was restored in the station, and British authority was rapidly re-established over the district, while well-known mutineers were executed after proper trial, or otherwise punished.

During the month of February, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, was gathering together at Cawnpore his troops, siege train, and stores, for the capture of Lucknow. Into this city, as into a trap, his columns had been sweeping all the rebel forces, and to this end, General Franks, of the 10th Foot, had been detached into Oude with a strong brigade which carried all before it. To prevent any soreness arising between this gallant officer and Jung Bahadoor, regarding the latter's independent command, Sir Colin wrote to Macgregor the following letter, the flattering tenor of which, proceeding from a man of the character of this noble veteran, could not but have been very gratifying to the recipient:—"I have caused many official letters to be addressed to you, and I have despatched many messages to you of a similar character by telegraph, but I have not been able to contrive a little moment of leisure to assure you of the very great satisfaction it has been to me to find you in your present position, knowing, as I do, that in the whole service a more happy selection could not have been made by Government, for the duties of an office requiring so much temper, judgment, and delicacy in their management; and then, too, to find in this authority a dear old friend.

"I enclose a letter in reply to the one Jung Bahadoor did me the favour to write to me. I have given orders this day to General Franks to give in to the wishes of the Goorkha chiefs, in every little matter that it is likely to be agreeable to them, that they may be brigaded by themselves, and that our officers may not interfere with the legitimate commands of the colonels commanding regiments. By this instruction to General Franks, the possibility of all cause of offence being taken by our Goorkha friends will have been prevented.

"Mansfield apprised you some days back of the report which

had reached us of Rajah Maun Singh having left Lucknow with eight or nine Sepoy regiments and some guns, to meet the force under his Highness; and we have a report from the same place, that some of the same description of troops had been sent from there to meet Franks. These troops will make no resistance of moment in the open, and if ordered to attack, the effort will be of the most feeble character. I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you before long on the banks of the Goomtee. I enclose a list of the siege train we take with us, and which I hope to have collected near to Lucknow by the time I have announced."

Before taking part in the operations at Lucknow, the Goorkhas were engaged in a smart affair on the 26th February. While on the line of march, on that day, from Mobarukpore and Akbarpore, the Maharajah and General Macgregor were informed that a party of rebels were in a fort near at hand. Jung Bahadoor, remarking that they might rob some carts, sent some of his body-guard to see what they were. They rode up to the place, and, taking its defenders by surprise, actually got into the fort. The men inside proposed submission, and said they would lay down their arms in two ghurries (about forty minutes) if allowed that time to prepare. The Goorkhas fell into the trap, and left the place for that time, and, on their return, reinforced by three companies, they were fired on, several of their number being killed and wounded. The news of this reached the force soon after its arrival in camp, when the Maharajah first despatched his brothers, and, subsequently, in company with General Macgregor, went himself back to the place, about six miles. Previous to their arrival, arrangements for an assault had been made by the Goorka generals, under the supervision of the British officers attached to the brigades, but no progress had been made. This fort was a place of very considerable strength. It was a small enclosure, barely thirty yards square, with high loopholed walls surrounded by a thick fence, rendered completely impervious by a screen of dry bamboos strongly fixed into the ground at its base, on either side of which was a broad deep ditch.

The arrival of his Highness and the Brigadier-General infused new vigour into the attack, which hitherto had been confined to shelling the position. Jung Bahadoor immediately ordered an assault and caused the bugles to be sounded, when the troops rushed on with a cheer and succeeded in obtaining a lodgment in the bamboo fence and trench within it. It was

then discovered that there was an inner entrenchment and wall which it was found necessary to breach.

Accordingly, a 6-pounder was, with great difficulty, dragged through the bamboo fence and outer ditch, to within a few yards of the inner wall, while two 12-pounders from outside also opened, producing a cross fire with good result. Five or six rounds from the 6-pounder having made a partial breach, Lieutenant Sankey, of the Madras engineers, effected an entrance, by enlarging the opening with his hands until it was of sufficient size to admit his head and shoulders, when he forced himself in, and was quickly followed by the men who carried the place by storm. Macgregor said, in his despatch:—"I cannot speak too highly of the gallantry shown by the officers and men engaged in this little, but desperate, affair. The heavy list of casualties will show to his Lordship in Council the strength of the defences and the desperation with which they were held. It was manifest, from this day's work, that the Goorkhas were capable of anything in the way of an assault, when animated by the presence of the Maharajah, and I was very much pleased, indeed, with their demeanour throughout, for the service was really a trying one." The British officers again distinguished themselves, particularly Captain Edmonstone, who led the assault, and Lieutenant Sankey, who carried off the chief laurels.

On the 5th March, while advancing to join Sir Colin Campbell's forces before Lucknow, the advanced division of Jung Bahadoor's army, under General Khurruk Bahadoor, attacked a strong column of 4,000 rebels, under Nazim Mehndec Hossein, at the Kundoo Nuddee, and defeated them after a smart action, in which the enemy lost one gun and 600 killed. Captain Plowden, the officer in military charge of the division, spoke in high terms of the gallantry of the Goorkhas, as did also the British officers with the respective brigades and batteries.

But the siege of the great rebel stronghold of Lucknow was now imminent, and the Nepaulese army were fortunate enough to participate in the final operations, Jung Bahadoor joining the Commander-in-Chief before the capital of Oude on the 12th of March. On that day the Goorkha troops, numbering upwards of 9,000 men, with 24 field-guns, took up their position in the British line, and, on the 13th, moved close to the canal, skirting the town.

The Commander-in-Chief now requested Jung Bahadoor, through General Macgregor, who acted throughout as the medium of communication, to pass the canal, and attack the

suburbs in his front and considerably to the left of Bank's house. Sir Colin says in his despatch :—"To this his Highness acceded with much willingness, and his force was most advantageous in thus covering my left for several days, during which, from the nature of our operations, I was obliged to mass all the available strength of the British force towards the right, in the joint attack carried along both banks of the Goomtee."

On the 11th March, a meeting took place between the Commander-in-Chief and the Nepaulese prince—or rather, Prime Minister, for he was not a member of the ruling house, though more than a Warwick in power. Jung Bahadoor came, attired in gorgeous attire, scarlet coat, "crisp with jewels and gold, and a head-dress, with an aigrette consisting of bird-of-paradise feathers, glittering with diamonds of such size and pure water as would excite the admiration of a Bond Street jeweller." The meeting was to be held in front of the Commander-in-Chief's mess tent, before which a canopy had been raised, and four o'clock was the time fixed, at which time the British guns were playing on the second line of the enemy's defences, and the Begum Kothie, preparatory to the assault on the palace. Sir Colin Campbell, to whom the etiquette of courts was at all times repugnant, would have preferred at this critical moment to be with his troops; but, as a matter of policy, it was necessary to be civil to the "Lord of War," with his valuable contingent, and General Mansfield, the Chief of the Staff, was conducting the operations.

Punctual to time, the British General stood ready with his staff, in full uniform, while close to the tent was drawn up a guard of honour of Highlanders, with band and pipers, an escort of the 9th Lancers, and a battery of guns to fire a salute. Mr. Howard Russell, describing the scene in his picturesque style, says :—"The chief's eye and ear were, by turns, directed towards the Begum's palace, whence, as the time wore on, could be heard the increasing rattle of musketry. Still the Jung came not. Minute after minute passed by very slowly. It was plain that his Highness the Maharajah, if he knew of the Commander-in-Chief's arrangements, did not possess the 'politeness of princes.' It was five o'clock, and the musketry was rolling out in great volleys. Sir Colin was walking up and down, like a man who has waited quite long enough for his wife to get on her bonnet, and was about 'to stand it no longer,' when a great buzz among the soldiers announced the arrival of Jung Bahadoor, and the band of the Highlanders and the thunder of the guns gave him welcome. As the Maharajah approached,

the Commander-in-Chief and his aides-de-camp on duty stepped out to meet him.

"Jung Bahadoor took the outstretched hand of our chief, and introduced him to his two brothers, who, almost equally gaudy in attire and rich in decoration, accompanied him. General Macgregor, in his full uniform and orders, was on the right of the Maharajah, and after him came a long following of generals in rich dresses, most of them with faces of the Calmuck type, broad in the shoulders, short-necked, and thin-legged. They seated themselves on chairs, anything but easy for them, on the right of Sir Colin, whose staff sat on his left, and then there was a long interchange of courteous speeches; but Sir Colin's mind seemed intent on the Begum's palace, and his ears fixed on the rapid roll of musketry. Still the speeches and conversation went on, the Maharajah's quick eye glancing furtively from staff to Highlander, and back again.

"In the midst of all this courtly ceremony, a tall figure, covered with dust, broke through the crowd of spectators at the end of the line of Highlanders, and strode up towards the chief, who rose from his seat and advanced to meet him. It was strange enough, amid all this glitter and gold lace and fine clothes, to see this apparition in hodden grey tunic, turbaned cap, and trunk boots, with long sword clanking on the ground, and head, and face, and garments covered with dust, walking stiffly up the aisle of men: 'I am desired by the Chief of the Staff, sir, to tell you that we have taken the Begum's palace, with little loss, and are now in possession of it and the adjoining buildings.' And with a few pleased words from Sir Colin, the Deputy-Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff, Hope Johnstone, marched out of the crowd again and vanished. Jung Bahadoor perhaps imagined it was a well-executed *coup de théâtre*; but it was a hard reality—as hard almost as the skirl of the bag-pipes, which were played by six as fine Highlanders as ever trod on heather, who walked twice in front of us to a heart-stirring pibroch, and then played a few *morceaux*, to the great delight of the Bahadoor. His Excellency finally mounted, with his two brothers, on two elephants with gorgeous howdah cloths, and returned to his camp."

Saturday, the 13th March, was occupied by the British army in carrying on siege operations from the Begum Kothi, and the Serai beyond it, towards the Imambarra, under the directions of Brigadier Robert Napier, and the preparation of batteries for guns and mortars to bear on that position, and on the buildings near it. The Goorkhas, meanwhile, pressed

on towards the left of the British position, between Franks's division and Alumbagh, and re-occupied some ground which they had gained temporarily on the previous evening, but had been obliged to evacuate during the night. During the afternoon Sir Colin Campbell returned in state the visit of the Nepaulese chief, who announced that his troops had taken and destroyed a standing camp of the enemy, inside the suburbs, close on the line of the canal. "The Goorkha attack was directed against the suburbs, between Bank's House and the Charbagh. Six of their guns were posted to the right of a village, and four of Brigadier Franks's in conjunction with them directed their fire along the face of the canal. Two Goorkha regiments then advanced, under cover of this fire, and drove the enemy, with little loss on either side, out of a large serai which they occupied; but their progress was checked by an entrenched position behind the Charbagh, and for the rest of the day they contented themselves with burning the enemy's cover, and a fusillade on their entrenchment."

* The Nepaulese troops distinguished themselves, on the 16th, by the gallant manner in which they defeated the enemy and occupied his position in front of the Alumbagh. While Outram was operating on the iron bridge across the Goomtee, the enemy having shown in great strength before Alumbagh, which on that day was only occupied by two British regiments, Sir Colin Campbell directed General Macgregor to request Jung Bahadoor to move to his left up the canal, and take the position in reverse. The operation was performed in good style, and ten guns were captured; henceforth all further annoyance to the Alumbagh ceased. The Commander-in-Chief says in his despatch that this movement "was executed very well by his Highness, and he seized the positions one after another with little loss to himself."

He also conveyed his thanks to the Nepaulese prince in a letter to Brigadier-General Macgregor, in which he spoke of "the very important operation of yesterday." Mr. Russell says the Goorkha division "were stoutly opposed. The enemy, with a considerable force of infantry and guns, and some horse, suddenly came out to attack them, and, after a hard fight, took up a strong position in front. Jung Bahadoor, however, turned their flank, and put them to flight with great loss, both in the engagement and in the subsequent pursuit, and captured ten guns."

The correspondent continues:—"On the 18th we were in possession of the greater part of the city. General Macgregor asked permission of the Commander-in-Chief early in the day, to with-

draw the remainder of the Goorkha division from Alumbagh, to which the Chief of the Staff gave Sir Colin's concurrence, adding, 'Sir Colin is delighted to hear of your success, and sends you his kind regards and warm congratulations. He says you have managed capitally.' All through this day the Nepaulese force was hotly engaged in taking the line of works from which Alumbagh had been threatened, and captured several guns." Mr. Russell writes of these operations, "The Goorkha force under Jung Bahadoor, under a tremendous fire of musketry, advanced and seized the whole of the suburbs near the Charbagh, after a weak resistance from the enemy. In the attack on the Charbagh and the line of the canal works, the Goorkhas took sixteen or seventeen guns of all sorts." On the same day General Mansfield again wrote to Macgregor expressing the pleasure of Sir Colin at the good service performed by Jung Bahadoor, who owed so much of his success to the Brigadier-General. It was subsequent to this attack, that Captain M'Neil, of the Bengal Artillery, attached to the Goorkhas, under General Macgregor's orders, and Lieutenant Bogle of the same force, succeeded in releasing from a house in Lucknow, Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson, two English ladies who had been for a long time in captivity among the rebels.

The Commander-in-Chief wrote to Macgregor, on hearing of this rescue, expressing his gratification, and requested him to use his influence to have all the Goorkhas withdrawn from the town, as he was intent on restoring confidence, and bringing back the population, who had fled panic-stricken. All plundering was stopped, and regular military posts formed to restore order. With the capture, on the 19th, of the Moosabagh, where the rebels in considerable force made a stand, fell the last post held by the enemy. Lucknow was now once more in British possession, and, on the 24th, the army formed for the reduction of this, the greatest of the rebel strongholds, broke up, Jung Bahadoor and his force marching to Fyzabad in Oude.

In reporting to the Governor-General, the departure from Lucknow of the Goorkha division, Sir Colin Campbell, after expressing his high approbation of their gallant conduct, and of the assistance rendered to him by his Highness, concludes as follows: "My best thanks are due to the Special Commissioner, Brigadier-General Macgregor, C.B., the medium of communication between his Highness and myself. I beg to recommend him and the British officers serving under his orders, to the favourable consideration of your lordship."

Early in April, the unsatisfactory state of General Macgregor's

health, forced him to resign his post with the Nepaulese force, preparatory to proceeding to England. Lord Canning, in sanctioning, on the 13th April, the several arrangements he had proposed consequent on his retirement, conveyed his warm thanks to Macgregor "for the temper, judgment, and complete success with which you have acquitted yourself of a difficult task." The Nawab Nazim of Moorshedabad, at whose court he had filled the post of Resident for many years, wrote him a long letter expressive of his sincere sorrow at parting with his friend. In one passage, he says, "I feel, indeed, in parting with you, I am losing my best friend, mentor, and monitor, to whose disinterested counsel I could always beneficially refer for guidance in difficulties, who has ever taken a sincere interest in my welfare, and to whom I am indebted for so much kindness, valuable counsel, and consideration for which I shall never cease to feel grateful."

In 1859, while in England, Macgregor retired from the army on full pay, with the rank of Major-General, and was created a K.C.B. in 1861. Subsequently, he was created one of the Knights of the "Most Exalted Order" of the Star of India.

Sir George Macgregor is not the least eminent of the band of soldier diplomatists of the school of Munro, Malcolm, and Lawrence. He always commanded the confidence of successive Governor-Generals, and carried with him into retirement the respect and regard of those with whom he had been associated throughout his career. There are few brighter pages in British or Indian history than the defence of Jellalabad, and the officer, who, as the historian of the war in Afghanistan declared, "was its life and soul," and upon whom, at the age of 31, devolved the chief responsibility, in conjunction with Sir Robert Sale, of rejecting the peremptory instructions of the military and political chiefs in Afghanistan, to evacuate that fortress, is not unworthy a place among the distinguished soldiers of the reign of her present Majesty.

MAJOR-GENERAL HON. SIR HENRY HUGH
CLIFFORD, V.C., C.B., K.C.M.G.

Early Service in the Army—Proceeds to South Africa—The Kaffir War of 1847—Affair in the Waterkloof—Action with the Dutch Boers at Boem Plaats—Kaffir War of 1852—Return to England—The Crimean War—Lieutenant Clifford gains the V.C. at Inkerman—On Service in China—The Zulu War—General Clifford's Services in South Africa.

AMONG the officers who held high command in South Africa during the Zulu War, few had a better reputation, or commanded more general confidence, than Sir Henry Clifford. And yet this was scarcely due to any service rendered to his country in a conspicuous capacity, for he had never even commanded a brigade in the field, but was owing to a prevalent opinion among those best qualified to judge, that General Clifford was an officer of talent, and the possessor of sound judgment which only required an opportunity to display itself. That opportunity, though not as a combatant officer, was afforded by the Zulu War, where he held the important office of *etappen* commandant, and managed to evolve order and regularity in a department which had drifted into a state of disorganisation threatening a suspension of the campaign. Sir Henry Clifford has proved, during an adventurous and distinguished career, that he possesses some of the qualities that are essential to the formation of a leader of men, such as a capacity for work and talents for organisation. That he is also gifted with a high chivalric courage, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to add, for among those familiar with the achievements of our army, his name is synonymous with that quality which the Athenian philosopher places as the first among the virtues, and the letters "V.C." manifest to the world that he has performed in presence of the enemy some act of signal valour.

General Clifford comes of one of the most ancient families of this country, one of those that clung to the Romish faith during the darkest days of persecution, when to be a Papist was to be

branded almost as an outlaw, and at a later period, during the early Georgian era, as a Jacobite, who drank to the health of the King "over the water." At the present time one of the family is a prelate high in the Vatican Councils, and the subject of this notice has adhered to the religion of his fathers, though we should not say, from his career, that he would exclaim with a certain noble lord, that "he was an Englishman, if you please, but a Papist first."

Henry Hugh Clifford is the third son of the seventh Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, by his marriage with a daughter of the late Mr. Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle, Dorset, who died a cardinal, the family being staunch adherents of the Romish church. From his boyhood our hero was distinguished for his love of field sports, in which he excelled. Powerful in frame, and active, he was capable of enduring great fatigue, and was renowned as a cricketer, while his sincerity and amiability of character made him a general favourite. On the 7th August, 1846, when twenty years of age, he received his first commission as a second lieutenant in the Rifle Brigade, and joined the 1st battalion. An anecdote is told of his activity and powers of endurance at this time. When quartered at Dover, a brother officer engaged, for a wager, to make his way on foot from that town to Canterbury, a distance of about sixteen miles, in two hours. Lieutenant Clifford accompanied his friend, "kept him up to his work, made him accomplish the task, and whereas the winner of the wager went straight up to bed at Canterbury, thoroughly done up, Clifford walked back to Dover, and was a brisk and lively partner at a ball in the evening."

In August 1846, the 1st battalion of the Rifle Brigade proceeded on service to the Cape of Good Hope, the colony being involved in one of the numerous Kaffir wars of which we trust the one just concluded may be the last. The scene of operations, beyond the river Kei, was the same as that in which Generals Sir Arthur Cuninghame and Lord Chelmsford have been engaged, and; in the records of the operations of thirty years ago, the names of Kaffir warriors, Kreli and Sandili,—the latter being the son of the great chief Gaika, with whom our intercourse first commenced in the year 1816; when the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, entered into an agreement with him—recur as in the Trans-Kei campaign of last year. In 1847, Lieutenant Clifford proceeded to South Africa to join his battalion,* then under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel

* "It was," says Mrs. Ward, the author of *Five Years in Kaffrland*, "the useful green jackets, the untiring Rifle Brigade, who worried Sandili out of his hiding place

George Buller, and participated in the desultory operations of which the hardships, wet bivouacs, long marches, and hard fare were the chief incidents, for the enemy broke up into small bodies and seldom gave the troops an opportunity of actual fighting. During this time there were three brigades operating in the field, under Colonels Campbell, Somerset, and Buller, the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa being Lieutenant-General Sir George Berkeley, who, on the 23rd December, was succeeded by Sir Harry Smith, Bart., G.C.B., "the hero of Aliwal."

On the 17th of September, the battalion marched from King William's Town towards the Amatola Mountain, and, fording the Keiskamma River on the 21st, crossed a lofty and precipitous ridge and moved into the Keiskamma basin, where they were engaged in active pursuit of the Gaikas, under Sandili, who were hunted and harried until, on the 19th October, that chief, with ten of his principal followers, surrendered himself to Colonel Buller.* This terminated the campaign, and the 1st battalion returned to King William's Town, two companies being detached to Forts Murray and Waterloo.

But no sooner were these tedious operations with the Kaffirs concluded, than our soldiers were called upon to fight against a European enemy. The Dutch Boers of the Colony, and of the regions beyond the Orange River and in Natal, headed by Pretorius, a Dutch colonist of considerable ability, assembled in force beyond the Orange River, upon which Sir Harry Smith ordered Colonel Buller to proceed to Colesberg with a column, consisting of two companies each from the Rifle Brigade and the 45th and 91st Regiments, with two squadrons of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and 2 guns. Lieutenant Clifford was so fortunate as to accompany this force, his company being one of those ordered on service. The companies of the Rifle Battalion were made up to a strength of eighty rank and file, and each man carried sixty rounds of ammunition, with great coats or blankets.

The troops, accompanied by Sir Harry Smith, marched on the 4th August, and, between the 23rd and 26th, crossed the Orange River by means of an india-rubber pontoon brought by the riflemen from King William's Town. On the following day, after a march of twenty-seven miles, they encamped on the plains at Beulois Hoek, near Phillipolis, a village of the Griquas; on the 28th they made a further march of twenty

among the mountains." See also Sir William Cope's admirable *History of the Rifle Brigade*.

* Now General Sir George Buller, G.C.B.

miles, and, on the 29th, having advanced ten miles, halted to breakfast at some deserted farmhouses overlooking a plain called Boem Plaats, which has an extent of twelve miles, and is terminated by a range of low rocky hills rising in terraces. On a road or rather track, in the hill sides on the right hand, the Boers, numbering between 2,500 and 3,000 men, had taken up a position, the natural strength of which was increased by a stone breastwork. Sir Harry Smith—who had served in the Rifle Brigade, or with them, on the staff, at Monte Video, the Peninsula, America, Holland, and at Waterloo—made an inspiring address to the Riflemen, reminding them of past glories, and declaring that he “would drive the arch-rebel Pretorius and his followers like rats from these hills.” A cheer was the response, and, about eleven a.m., the troops advanced, and arrived at the foot of the hills soon after one. The Cape Corps were ordered to turn the position in front and by both flanks, but the Boers received them with such a hot fire that they retired, when the infantry advanced and drove the enemy at the point of the bayonet from the first and second ranges of heights. The Boers retreated to the third and highest terrace, but this also, was carried after two hours’ hard fighting. The pursuit was continued for eleven miles, the guns firing grape and shrapnel with great effect, until, at length, the troops rested for the night at Culverfontein, having marched thirty-three miles and fought a severe action. Of the two companies of Rifles engaged, Captain Murray and six men were killed, or died of their wounds, and Captain Hardinge and eight rank and file were wounded; Colonel Buller was also severely wounded, and he and the Adjutant, Lieutenant Julius Glyn, had their horses shot under them. Sir Harry Smith said, in a letter to Major-General Hon. Sir Henry Murray, communicating the death of his gallant son, that “this outburst of rebels has cost as smart an affair as I ever witnessed.”

The troops encamped for only three hours, and, at one a.m. of the 30th August, paraded without tents or blankets. At two o’clock the column marched in pursuit of the Boers, the two companies of the Rifles, which formed the advance guard, being now commanded by Lieutenants Hon. H. H. Clifford and W. W. Knight. Advancing through Welman’s Pass, with skirmishers on the hills on each side, they halted for the night at a Dutch farm-house called Bethany, and continuing the pursuit, arrived, on the 2nd September, at Bloemfontein, where they halted till the 4th. At daybreak Sir Harry Smith again marched, having, just before his departure, executed some

rebel Boers, and a deserter from the 45th Regiment, sentenced to death by court-martial; and, on the 7th, arrived at Weinberg, on the Vaal River. Here the Boers made their submission, and the troops having constructed a field-work, the detachments of the 45th and 91st Regiments remained to garrison it, and the two companies of the Rifle Brigade marched for King William's Town on the 16th October.

In this expedition, says the historian of the Brigade, "the Riflemen had marched between 1,100 and 1,200 miles, had crossed many difficult rivers with insufficient means of transit, had worn their clothing to shreds and their shoes off their feet." Sir Harry Smith issued a complimentary order to the officers and men on the 30th August, and again on the 15th September, when quitting Bloemfontein; and the services of the detachment were recognised by Colonel Buller receiving the C.B., and Major Beckwith, who now assumed command of the battalion of the Rifles, the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel.

While at King William's Town the battalion, says Colonel Evelyn, an old Rifleman, "built a town, they built barracks; they built houses for their officers, some of wattle-and-daub, some of bricks, and roofed with various materials. They also made an aqueduct, some three or four miles long, to supply the camp with water, and for the purpose of irrigation. When we left they had more than half built permanent barracks of stone."* In 1850, the battalion, being ordered to England, proceeded to Cape Town, where they were inspected, on the 31st May, by Sir Harry Smith, who issued a farewell order in which he referred to his connection with the battalion since 1805, adding that he had "never worn the regimental uniform of any other corps."

Lieutenant Clifford was quartered with the 1st battalion at Canterbury and at Dover, where, in September, 1851, the Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade, the Duke of Wellington, reviewed them under the command of Colonel Buller. On the outbreak of another Kaffir war, the battalion was ordered to the Cape, and sailed from the Downs in Her Majesty's ship *Megara* on the 3rd January, 1852.

The troops were disembarked at Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, on the 30th March, after a stormy passage, in which the ship twice caught fire, and the ill luck that ultimately overtook the *Megara* at St. Paul's Island, accompanied her throughout the voyage. On the 2nd April the battalion marched for the frontier, on the 13th reached Graham's Town, where

* *Journal of Royal United Service Institution*, Vol. XIV. p. 103.

they halted two days, and, on the 18th, arrived at Fort Beaufort, where they were placed in the 1st Brigade of Major-General Somerset's division, the other corps consisting of detachments of the 74th Regiment, Cape Corps, and artillery with 2 guns, and some Fingoe levies, Colonel Buller being the Brigadier. The battalion, with one 6-pounder gun, marched on the 22nd April, for the Waterkloof Valley, the edge of which they reached on the 29th. The same day three companies of the battalion attacked and dispersed a body of Kaffirs, at a place in the Waterkloof called Mundell's Krantz, where Colonel Fordyce of the 74th was killed and his regiment severely handled on the 6th November in the previous year, which event indeed was the immediate cause of the despatch of the battalion to the Cape. During the next few months the Rifles were engaged constantly skirmishing with the enemy in the numerous kloofs* of this difficult region. Our troops were also engaged on the frontier, the operations of the large force assembled in Kaffraria being directed in person by Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, who fell in the Crimea; and though no important action was fought, the duty was extremely harassing, and the privations endured by the officers and men of the battalion, which was broken up into detachments, of a character sufficiently severe to test the high discipline of this distinguished corps. On the 14th July, the battalion, commanded by Major Horsford,† left its camping ground at Bear's Farm, and, the same day, arrived at Mount Misery, where a standing camp was formed and two redoubts built, as a base for General Cathcart's final operations against the Kaffirs. This completed, the battalion marched on the 24th July, with the remainder of Colonel Buller's Brigade, to attack the Kaffir kraals of the Waterkloof near Mundell's Krantz, which were destroyed, and, on the following day, Major Horsford, leaving two companies with headquarters to occupy the fort, started with the remaining four companies of the battalion for Fort Beaufort, in order to take part in an expedition across the Kei River against Kreli. Fort Beaufort was reached on the 26th July, and quitted on the 29th; and, on the following day, being joined by the rest of the column, under General Cathcart, the Rifles marched for the scene of hostilities. On the 9th August they crossed the Kei River, and General Cathcart divided his force into two columns, under Colonels Michel and Napier, to patrol the country, while the Rifles held the camp, acted as the General's body-guard, and formed escorts for the cavalry patrols and cattle.

* Kloof is a wooded ravine or valley.

† Now General Sir Alfred Horsford.

On the 20th August, in conjunction with cavalry, they made a raid on the Kaffirs, when they captured 12,000 head of cattle, with which they returned, on the 31st, to Fort Beaufort, where they were joined by the two companies from the Waterkloof. Major Horsford now assumed command of the battalion, Colonel Buller being appointed to succeed Major-General Somerset in command of the 1st Division.

General Cathcart, having arranged for a combined advance in order to clear the Waterkloof of Macomo and his followers, the battalion marched on the 10th September. This operation was conducted in combination with the 73rd and 91st Regiments, and Fingoe levies, under command of Colonel (the late General Sir William) Eyre, and the work of clearing the kloofs and krantzies,* in wet weather and oftentimes with insufficient food, was of a most harassing nature. On the 12th November, the battalion, with the exception of two companies, returned to Fort Beaufort, where they remained—one company under Lieutenant Hon. Leicester Curzon (now General Hon. Leicester Smyth), accompanying Sir George Cathcart in his campaign against Moshesh in Basutoland—until their embarkation for England in October, 1853. During this period Lieutenant Clifford was stationed with his company at Blinkwater post, between the 13th June and the 12th October, when he rejoined headquarters previous to the battalion marching, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford, to Port Elizabeth, when Colonel Buller assumed command.

The corps sailed for England in the *Simoom*, from Algoa Bay on the 12th November, and, touching at Table Bay, disembarked on the 10th January, 1854, at Portsmouth, whence they proceeded to Dover, where they were quartered.

While in Kaffraria Lieutenant Clifford earned a character for courage and presence of mind, and the following anecdote is told illustrative of this quality. One day he was in the act of sitting down on the ground, placing one hand beneath him for the purpose, when he felt something clammy to the touch, and found to his horror it was a puff-adder, a most venomous reptile. A man with less self-possession would have removed his hand, probably to be stung in the act, but Lieutenant Clifford, with great presence of mind, held the snake down firmly with one hand, and drawing his clasp knife from his pocket with the other, opened it with his teeth, and then coolly severed the reptile's head from the body.

Lieutenant Clifford's stay in England was very brief, for on

* Krantz is a rocky descent.

the 14th July, 1854, the battalion * sailed from Portsmouth in the steamer *Orinoco*, to participate in the deadly struggle we were about to wage against Russia in the Crimea. The strength of the corps, on embarkation, was twenty officers and 955 non-commissioned officers and men. The battalion was first disembarked on the Asiatic shore, where twenty-six men died of cholera, but, on the 6th September, joined the British army at Varna, and was attached to General Torrens's Brigade of the 4th Division, under its old commander at the Cape, Sir George Cathcart. Lieutenant Clifford received the appointment of aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown, commanding the Light Division,† which included the 2nd battalion of the Rifle Brigade, of which Sir George was formerly Lieutenant-Colonel.

On the 13th September the army landed in Kalamita Bay, and, on the 19th, commenced the march for the Balganak River. Clifford was present at the battle of the Alma, fought by the allied army on the 20th September, in which the Light Division covered itself with glory, the 4th Division with his old corps, being in reserve throughout the day. The great feature of the battle was the advance across the river and heights of the Alma, of the Light Division, supported by the 1st Division, consisting of the Guards and Highlanders, commanded by the Duke of Cambridge, whose Brigadiers were Major-General Bentinck and Sir Colin Campbell, the only one of the three who had before seen a shot fired in anger. The Light Division, led by Sir George Brown, with whom was Lieutenant Clifford, advanced in double columns of brigades, deployed when it got within range of the Russian batteries, when the men lay down. Soon they again advanced, and once more halted to lie down. This was repeated a third time, all the while the round shot making lanes through the ranks, until they reached some vineyards, where they found shelter; but, when moving on again, the men were thrown into some disorder by the opposing obstacles, hedges, stone walls, and vines, rather than by the Russian fire, for nothing could exceed the steadiness and *élan* with which these gallant fellows advanced. At this time the

* The battalion was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith, who died of cholera in the following September before the battalion saw any service. Throughout this arduous campaign, including the battles of Alma and Inkerman, and the greater portion of the siege of Sebastopol, the command was held by Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford.

† The Light Division consisted of two brigades commanded, at this time, by Generals W. Codrington and G. Buller, lately Clifford's commanding officer at the Cape.

1st Brigade, under General Codrington, consisting of the 7th, 23rd, and 33rd Regiments, with the 19th Regiment—the only one of Buller's Brigade that took an active part in the fighting—advanced at a run across the river, and soon gained the shelter of the high bank on the south side, where they were reformed, the regiments having got mixed during the rush.

Three battalions of Russian infantry sought to drive them back as they were crossing the stream, but, advancing in the teeth of a galling fire, they gallantly charged up the bank, and met the enemy with so heavy a fusillade that they fell back in confusion, and retired to the protection of their batteries. After a brief halt, the division, led by Sir George Brown, with his staff, including Lieutenant Clifford, and by General Codrington—who displayed great gallantry though it was the first time he had been under fire—advanced up the deadly heights of the Alma, swept by the Russian artillery, their ranks mowed down by shot and shell, while infantry advancing on their flanks, poured in a musketry fire.

By some strange oversight, the advance instead of being made in line, was made four deep (some said 6 or 7 deep), so that the regiments suffered heavily, and were, moreover, in some confusion from the front not being extended while their fire was proportionately feeble. But in spite of all, they continued to advance with singular intrepidity. Sir George Brown, unsupported by artillery, according to the tactics of all generals worthy of the name, continued to hurl his men at the battery in the teeth of this pitiless storm of grape and shell, and, showing an example of intrepidity himself, rode well in front cheering them on. General Codrington was among the first to enter the redoubt on the slope, which the enemy, dismayed by this audacious advance, had abandoned, and, withdrawing their guns, retired to the reserves on high ground in the rear. But the Russians seeing the numerical inferiority of their assailants, and that they were unsupported—for so rapid had been their advance, the 1st Division, acting as their supports, were still far in the rear—moved down towards the battery, which the Light Division were compelled to abandon after having held it for only some ten minutes. At this critical time the 1st Division, gallantly led by the Duke of Cambridge and his Brigadiers, arrived to the succour of their comrades of the Light Division, who retreated behind the Guards to reform their shattered ranks. As later at Balaclava, some one had blundered egregiously, for the 77th and 88th Regiment—than which there were no two more gallant corps in the service, the

former having the advantage of being led by Colonel Egerton—which, with the 19th, formed Buller's Brigade, instead of advancing to the assistance of Codrington's hardly beset Brigade, halted and were passed by the 1st Division.

Dr. Howard Russell, in his picturesque description of the battle, gives an account of this *fiasco* on the part of Buller's Brigade, in which our hero's name appears:—"As the 88th were about to advance from the river, having their right on the 19th and their left on the 77th, an aide-de-camp—I believe the Hon. Mr. Clifford—came down in haste from Sir George Brown, with the words, 'Cavalry! form square! form square!' and the right, accordingly, in some haste corresponding with the order, which was almost at the same moment reiterated by Brigadier Buller, prepared to execute the movement, but the whole of the companies did not join in it, and the men who were excluded, and an officer and some few of the Rifles struggled to obtain admission into the square, which was for some moments in a very ineffective state, and scarcely ready to receive any determined charge of cavalry. The apprehensions, however, entertained by a few short-sighted people, were unfounded. The enemy had made no demonstration with the cavalry. They had advanced a demi-battery of artillery towards the left flank of the 2nd Brigade, and supported the advance with a body of infantry in spiked helmets. Sir George Brown, whose sight was not good, though he would not wear spectacles, and General Buller, whose vision was not good although he did wear spectacles, were deceived by the appearance of this force, and sent orders to form square. It was fortunate the Russian guns did not fire upon the 88th and the 77th, who, as they crossed the river, and endeavoured to reform under the bank, were menaced by a column of Russians firing on the gunners, and forced them to retire higher up the hill. Had the artillery held their ground, they could have inflicted great loss upon us, and seriously interfered with our advance on the right; but on this, as on other occasions, the Russians were too nervous for their guns and withdrew them. In this general movement the 77th and 88th Regiments did not participate." The 1st Division was met by a murderous fire from the Russian guns, but the Duke of Cambridge, acting on the advice of Sir Colin Campbell, who sternly insisted that Her Majesty's Guards must not retire, pushed up that deadly slope, and success crowned the movement, for fortunately just then two of Turner's guns, and the French batteries, threatened the Russians in flank and they limbered up and withdrew their guns.

It is not our province to show how the field of the Alma was won by the allied army, or how admirably that veteran General, Sir De Lacy Evans, handled his Division (the 2nd), supported by the 3rd, under Sir Richard England, whose name is well known in Indian history in connection with a not very successful phase of the first Afghan War. A little before five the battle was lost and won,* and the troops cheered the Commander-in-Chief and his Generals as they rode along the line.

Instead of pursuing the enemy and cutting off his retreat from Sebastopol, Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud remained on the battlefield, and, having buried the dead and despatched the wounded on ship-board, continued the march on the 23rd September, and, three days later, arrived before Sebastopol. Lieutenant Clifford was present on his chief's staff during the siege of that important fortress, until Sir George Brown retired and was succeeded by General Codrington. As aide-de-camp he participated in the glories of Inkerman, a struggle in which the British soldier manifested to the world that he had in no sort degenerated from the day when, as Napier says, a handful of British soldiers "stood triumphant on the fatal hill of Albuera."

It was in the dull gloom of the morning of the 5th November, that the Russians in great force—at least 20,000 men, with 30,000 more in reserve—made a gallant, but unavailing attempt to overpower the British army and drive the besiegers into the sea. In the desperate fighting that ensued, the Light Division, which, with the 2nd Division, resisted the attacks of the Russian centre, had its full share of the dangers and glories of the day, and the subject of this memoir greatly distinguished himself and gained the Victoria Cross. The first to discover the advance of the Russians in the gray and drizzling rain of that November morning was General Codrington, who quickly turned out his brigade, which was soon hotly engaged with the enemy, Buller's brigade of the Light Division being in support on the left of the 2nd Division, temporarily under the command of General Penefather.† These two divisions, with the 4th Division, under Sir George Cathcart, and the Guards, led by the Duke of Cambridge, bore the brunt of the fighting, (the 3rd Division being in reserve on the left), until the French

* The following was the respective strength of the Russians and allied armies at this memorable battle. English, 27,000 men, of whom 7,000 were not engaged; French, 25,000, of whom 12,000 were not engaged; Turks, 6,000, not engaged; Russians, 34,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, 44 guns.

† Sir De Lacy Evans, the commander of the Second Division, had gone to recruit his health on ship-board, but hearing the firing, landed, and was soon in the thickest of the fight.

arrived on the scene, and, soon after twelve, the discomfiture of the enemy was complete, though the last shot was not fired until 1.30 p.m.

The losses were enormous. Of 8,500 British soldiers engaged, forty-four officers, including Sir George Cathcart, and Brigadiers Goldie and Torrens, (the three Generals of the 4th Division), and 616 men were killed, and 102 officers, and 1,878 men wounded.* The 2nd Division came out of action with only six field officers and twelve captains, Major Farrer, 47th Regiment, being in command. Only 300 rank and file of the Division marched back to camp from the ensanguined hill-side of Inkerman, to which number the 95th Regiment contributed but sixty-four men. The brigade of Guards had fourteen officers killed, the fighting at the Sandbag battery being of a most desperate description, as was attested by the fact that 1,200 dead and dying Russians were heaped around it.

In this memorable conflict Lieutenant Clifford performed an act of brilliant gallantry which gained him the Victoria Cross. During the fighting in the scrub, our troops, broken up in parties, could scarcely, owing to the mist, tell friend from foe. In one place they had retreated, leaving three guns in the hands of the enemy, when the 77th Regiment, headed by Lieutenant Clifford, advanced to recapture them. It is recorded in the official order conferring the V.C., that he displayed "conspicuous gallantry, heading a charge, killing one of the enemy with his sword, disabling another, and saving a soldier's life."

The allies continued the siege of Sebastopol, undisturbed by any attempt, on a great scale, to break the investment and, throughout that dreary winter of 1854-55, Captain Clifford served on the staff of his chief, and shared the hardships and privations of the British army.

In May, 1855, Sir George Brown proceeded to England, when Captain Clifford was appointed Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-General of the Light Division, and remained in the Crimea until October 1856, when the troops finally quitted the scene of so much glory and disaster. For his services he was promoted to the rank of Brevet-Major, and received the medal and clasps for the Alma, Inkerman, and Sebastopol, and, from foreign Governments, the Legion of Honour and 5th class of the Medjidie. On the occasion of the first distribution of the

* The Russian losses, out of 42,000 men engaged, were 247 officers killed and wounded, 4,976 men killed, and 10,162 men wounded; the French had 14 officers and 118 men killed, and 34 officers and 1,300 men wounded. We had 38 guns, the French 18 guns, and the Russians 106 guns on the ground.

Victoria Cross, by the Queen, in Hyde Park, in June 1857, Major Clifford, in company with other recipients, including three officers and four men of the 1st and 2nd battalions Rifle Brigade, received that coveted distinction from the hands of Her Majesty. Within a twelvemonth of his return to England, Major Clifford was again engaged on active service.

Upon the outbreak of hostilities with China he sailed thither, and, as Assistant Quartermaster-General, was present at the operations between December, 1857, and January, 1858, which resulted in the capture of Canton. For his services in China, where he remained from August, 1857, to August in the following year, he received the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel, with the China medal and clasp for Canton, and more recently has been awarded the C.B., and a pension of £100 for "distinguished service."

On his return to England he commenced a long term of service on the Staff, and made himself popular with all those brought into official contact with him, while his capacity and ardour for work were astonishing. He was Assistant Quartermaster-General at Aldershot, and served as Assistant Quartermaster-General at the Horse Guards from 1868 to 1870, and as Assistant Adjutant-General from 1873 to 1875, when he was appointed aide-de camp to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, so that his service on the Staff has been varied, and his knowledge of military affairs is acknowledged to be wide. In 1877 he attained the rank of Major-General.

When, therefore, early in 1879, Major-General Clifford was selected to proceed to South Africa, to take charge of the communications of Lord Chelmsford's army, between Durban and the advanced depots in the field, those who were intimate with his career augured well of the appointment. At the time of his arrival at Natal there was a rare field for the display of organising capacity in this department of the military service, though Major Huskisson, 56th Regiment, and other officers, had done admirably, considering the small means at their disposal, and the novelty of the service. It was necessary, however, that a great effort should be made, and when we regard General Clifford's great experience in staff duties, his knowledge of the requirements of the supply of troops in the field, his indefatigable nature, and above all, his familiarity with Kaffir warfare, it must be conceded that a better selection could scarcely have been made for the responsible and arduous duties of *Etappen* commandant. His task was no light one, for the confusion at Durban, the port of disembarkation, was said by a

military journal, "to recall the finest times of the Quarter-mastering at Balaclava;" but General Clifford, it was added, worked "in an astounding way," which was not surprising to those who knew his partiality for administrative detail. Indeed, it was, perhaps, a fault that he took upon himself much of the minutiae which might have been administered by subordinates, among whom were many able officers, including Major W. F. Butler, C.B., author of *The Great Lone Land*, who had served his apprenticeship under Sir Garnet Wolseley in the Red River and Ashantee campaigns. No less remarkable than his love of hard work, was the hearty zeal he inspired in his subordinates, one of whom wrote of his "happy knack of getting work done, his charm of manner, being of itself enough to ensure for him the most cordial support of all about him." As senior of the four Major-Generals sent out to assist Lord Chelmsford, on his application for reinforcements, General Clifford was second in command, and he was the only one of the number to remain in South Africa when Sir Garnet Wolseley assumed the command, after the battle of Ulundi.

Though not holding a conspicuous place in the field, where his wishes would have led him, and his special experience been of service, his services in the eventful year 1879 were only second in importance to those of Lord Chelmsford himself. Sir Garnet Wolseley does him justice when he writes in his final despatch on the Zulu War:—"Of those who have toiled unremittingly throughout this war, no one is more deserving of special mention than Major-General the Hon. H. H. Clifford. Since his arrival in South Africa he has been in charge of the base and of the lines of communication, a charge which I thought it necessary to extend when I assumed command. On him has devolved the heaviest part of the work connected with the concluding operations and reduction of the force. No one could have worked with more earnest zeal than he has done, not only to keep the troops in the field supplied with everything they required, but to do so without unnecessary or extravagant expenditure of public money. By him great economy was introduced into the administration, and a most salutary check established over the outlay of all public money."

The opinion of all classes of her Majesty's subjects in England and South Africa ratified with unanimity the nomination of this distinguished officer to the ribbon of the Order of St. Michael and George, and it is to be hoped that his great experience in South Africa may be utilised in the service of the colonists.

FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT GOUGH, K.P., G.C.B.

PART I.

On Service in South Africa—Capture of Cape Town and Expedition to Saldanha Bay
—Proceeds to the West Indies—Attack on Porto Rico and Surrender of Surinam
—The Peninsular War—Battles of Talavera and Barrosa—Colonel Gough at Tarifa
—Battle of Vittoria—Advance across the Pyrenees—Battle of the Nivelle—Return
to England—Sir Hugh Gough proceeds to India.

“HE has afforded the brightest example of the highest qualities of the British soldier.” So spoke the great Duke of Wellington of the officer whose name stands at the head of this page. Lord Gough’s career was one of the longest and most remarkable of any of the distinguished band of generals who learned the lessons of war from a master who was only second to his mighty opponent, the vanquished of Waterloo. In Spain and France, in the West Indies and South Africa, in China and India, he drew his sword in his country’s service, and earned a name for chivalric courage that was a proverb in the army. He lived to the patriarchal age of ninety, having worn the British uniform for seventy-seven years. He was only ten years junior in age to the great Napoleon, and he survived him considerably over half a century. When the first French republic was young, ere the blood of the ill-fated monarch, Louis XVI., and of his virtuous and noble queen, Marie Antoinette, was shed on the scaffold, the venerable Field-Marshal commenced that military career which has made his name for ever famous as one of England’s most gallant and successful soldiers.

Hugh Gough, who was born on November 3, 1779, was the fourth son of George Gough, Esq., of Woodstown, County Limerick, some time lieutenant-colonel of the city of Limerick militia. When thirteen years of age he received a commission in his father’s regiment, from which he was transferred to the

army, his commission as ensign dating 7th August, 1794, and, as lieutenant, 11th October in the same year. He was first appointed to the 119th Regiment, and, on its disbandment, to the 78th Highlanders. Those were stirring times, and the boy-soldier soon smelt powder in real earnest. In 1795, the British Government resolved to take possession of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope for the Prince of Orange, to prevent its falling into the hands of the French Republic, and a fleet under Admiral Keith Elphinstone (afterwards Lord Keith) carrying a body of troops, was despatched to effect its capture. When the expedition appeared off the coast in July, the inhabitants were about to declare themselves a free and independent republic.

Besides the 78th Highlanders, our troops only consisted of a body of marines, together with 1,000 seamen, the whole force disembarking at Simon's Bay, on the refusal of the governor of Cape Town, Mr. Sluyskin, to surrender. The Dutch, though more numerous, and well supplied with artillery, made an ineffectual attempt to oppose the march of the British force on Cape Town, at the Muysenburg Pass, where a handful of men, with artillery, might have kept a large force at bay. Early in September, Sir Alured Clarke arrived in Table Bay with reinforcements, consisting of artillery and five regiments, the 80th, 84th, 91st, and 95th (both afterwards broken up at Cape Town), and 98th Highlanders (afterwards known as the 91st). All the preparations were ready for a combined attack by sea and land, when the governor capitulated, and on 16th September, 1795, the colony passed into the possession of the British, only to be restored to Holland in 1802, and reconquered by this country four years later.

Early in 1796, an expedition was fitted out to drive a Dutch force from Saldanha Bay. Admiral Elphinstone sailed thither with his squadron, which had been refitting in Simon's Bay, while a force, under General Craig, composed of the 25th (afterwards 22nd), and 28th Light Dragoons, a company of the 98th Highlanders, and the 78th and 98th Regiments, moved by divisions overland, a very arduous march, in which they suffered greatly from want of water, which to this day prevails along the route. The Dutch squadron, consisting of two sail of the line, five frigates, and two smaller vessels, under Admiral Engelbertus Lucas, was found in Saldanha Bay and surrendered without firing a shot. The capture of the Dutch fleet in Saldanha Bay, in which young Gough participated, gave rise to a famous lawsuit preferred by the army as joint captors with the navy—a suit adjudicated on by Lord Stowell.

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Our hero's next service was in the West Indies, whither he proceeded from the Cape, and joined the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers, with which distinguished regiment his name will be inseparably connected as its leader on many a hard-fought field. At the close of 1794, a petty yet harassing campaign, known as the Brigand War, was being carried on by insurgent slaves and republican whites, in the island of St Lucia. From the impracticable and mountainous nature of the interior, the conflict was necessarily protracted, and while it conferred no glory on those engaged in it, was even more fraught than regular warfare with peril and fatigue. The French army in the West Indies having been greatly reinforced, in February 1795, a force of regular troops invaded the island, and, aided by the insurgent slaves, wrested from us the island of St. Lucia which, however, was reconquered in May of the following year. The 87th Regiment arrived in the West Indies in October 1796, and was present at the capture of Trinidad in the following February. On the 8th April, 1797, Lieutenant Gough having joined in the interim, the 87th sailed from Martinique with the rest of the expedition destined to attack Porto Rico, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby. The capital, San Juan, was very strongly fortified, and garrisoned by several thousand Spanish, and 300 French troops. To oppose these, our army consisted of but 3,000 men, and a body of black pioneers. At first the British force was successful; the town was first cannonaded by a mortar battery, while a division of allied troops, who sought to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, was driven to their boats with great slaughter, and two sallies met with a like result. The British commander, however, found that his batteries could make no impression on the enemy's works, and, after a siege of twelve days, embarked his troops on April 30th, having suffered a loss of 230 men. After the repulse at Porto Rico, no military enterprise was undertaken until August 16th, 1799, when a combined military and naval expedition, under General Trigge and Admiral Lord Henry Seymour, appeared off Surinam, which, with the town of Paramaribo and the neighbouring forts, capitulated to the British commanders. After serving in various parts of the West Indies, Captain Gough landed with his regiment at Plymouth, on the 28th of September, 1804.

On June 25th, 1803, he had been gazetted to his company, and, on August 8th, 1804, received a majority in the 2nd battalion of the regiment, which had been placed on the establishment of the army on the 25th of December previous. In 1807 he married

Frances Maria, daughter of General Stephens, by whom he had one son and four daughters, one of whom is the wife of Sir Patrick Grant, governor of Chelsea Hospital. On the 28th of December, 1808, Major Gough embarked from Ramsgate with his battalion, numbering 1,020 rank and file, for service with the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and arrived at Lisbon on the 12th of March following. He was first employed in the operations at Oporto, where he had the temporary command of his regiment, and, in April, marched in pursuit of the French army, under Marshal Soult, on its retreat towards Madrid.

On the 20th of July, Sir Arthur Wellesley effected a junction at Oropesa, with the Spanish army under General Cuesta. The Spanish General having retreated from Alcabon, under cover of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke's Division, Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 27th of July, withdrew to the position of Talavera, leaving Major-General J. R. McKenzie, who commanded the division to which the 87th was attached, on the Alberche to protect the movement. During the day the French crossed the river in force and made a sudden attack on the 31st and 87th Regiments, which were posted in the wood on the right bank of the Alberche, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which the 87th suffered very severely, losing 350 officers and men, and were compelled to fall back before the attacks of overwhelming numbers. Major Gough re-formed on the other corps of General McKenzie's Division, and the 87th Regiment bivouacked by its watch-fires in expectancy of the great struggle of the morrow; as Campbell says in his pathetic ballad "The Soldier's Dream :—"

"And thousands had sunk on the ground overpowered,
The weary to sleep and the wounded to die."

On the occasion of the disbandment of the 2nd battalion, on the conclusion of the war with Napoleon, Major Gough issued a valedictory order, in the course of which he spoke in the following terms of its services at Talavera:—"At the battle of Talavera, on the 27th of July, 1809, when the battalion first encountered the enemy, they had to sustain, unsupported, the repeated attacks of the advance corps, and did not retire until both flanks were turned, the battalion nearly surrounded by an infinitely superior force, and two-thirds of the officers and men either killed or wounded. The movement of the regiment to the rear, and its formation on

the other corps of the division, was a counterpart of their conduct, in having instantly recovered, on the first attack of the enemy, a temporary confusion which was occasioned by the fire of a British regiment into the rear of the battalion, the thickness of the wood having made it impossible for that distinguished corps to have perceived the new position which the 87th had taken up. On this memorable occasion the charge of the two centre companies did them and their officers the greatest honour. The gallantry of the whole was conspicuous and obtained the personal thanks of the brave officer who commanded the division, and who, unfortunately, fell on the following day, and also the repeated thanks of the officer commanding the brigade." General McKenzie fell back slowly before the superior force of the enemy, and entering the position of Talavera by the left of the combined army, took up his ground in a second line, in rear of the Foot Guards. In the dusk of the evening the enemy commenced his attack on the heights on the British left, but failed. In the night the attack was repeated, and, on the following morning, the French again assaulted the British left, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Some hours later, the attacks were renewed upon the whole British front, and the action became general, Brigadier General Alexander Campbell's* Division, on the right, sustaining the assault of the enemy's fourth corps, assisted by Major General McKenzie's Division. "The English regiments," say Napier, "putting the French skirmishers aside, met the advancing columns with loud shouts, and breaking in on their front, and lapping their flanks with fire, and giving no respite pushed them back with a terrible carnage. Ten guns were taken; but as General Campbell prudently forbore pursuit, the French rallied on their supports and made a show of attack again. Vain attempt! The British artillery and musketry played too vehemently upon their masses, and a Spanish regiment of cavalry charging on their flank at the same time, whole retired in disorder, and the victory was secured in quarter."

In this great victory, for which Sir Arthur Wellesley was raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington of Talavera, British loss was upwards of 6,000 officers and men killed, wounded, and missing; that of the French being 7,400. Major General McKenzie was killed, and Major Gough had his horse shot under him, and was severely wounded in the side of

* Afterwards raised to a Marquesscy for his great services in command of the British army in the Burmese War, 1824-26.

shell. The regiment under his command, which bears the name "Talavera" on its colours and appointments in commemoration of its good conduct, lost 1 officer and 110 men killed, and 13 officers, of whom 2 died, and 230 men wounded, out of a total strength of 826. For his gallantry in this action Wellington subsequently recommended that Major Gough's commission as Lieutenant-Colonel should be antedated to the date of his despatch, July 29th, the day after the battle—thus making him the first officer who ever received brevet rank for services performed at the head of a regiment. And it was of this victory, and of the great Captain who achieved it, that Lord Grey, in the House of Lords, said, "Talavera is no victory, and Lord Wellington has betrayed want of capacity and want of skill." Such were, in those times, the discouragements to which Generals, engaged in operations in the field, were subjected by a factious parliamentary opposition.

The junction of the divisions of Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier, in the rear of the British, compelled them to fall back on Badajoz. On the 10th of September the 87th Regiment, being in a reduced state, owing to its losses in the field, proceeded to Lisbon, but on the arrival of large reinforcements and the return to its ranks of many of the wounded, embarked, under command of Major Gough, on the 5th of February, 1810, for Cadiz, then besieged by a French army under Marshal Soult. The garrison was commanded by Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch), and the battalion, with the rest of the troops, was engaged throughout the year in erecting defences and repelling the attacks of the enemy, during which it lost several men. Major Gough left Cadiz with his battalion on the 18th of February, and disembarking at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, joined, at Tarifa, the rest of the troops under General Graham, who marched on the 28th of February, and, on the 27th of March, arrived at Barrosa, a name memorable in the history of the British army, and especially of the 87th Regiment and their gallant Colonel.

General Graham, with a division of Spanish troops, under General La Pena, acting in conjunction, was compelled, owing to circumstances, to take the initiative and attack Marshal Beresford, whose army consisted of two divisions under Generals Hill and Laval. The allied army, after a night-march of sixteen hours from the camp near Vejer, arrived on the morning of the 5th at the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth of the San Pedro river. A successful attack on the rear of the enemy was effected by the lines near Santi

Petri, by the vanguard of the Spaniards, opened the communication with the Isla de Leon, and General Graham moved down from the position of Barrosa to that of the Torre de Bermeja, about half way to the Santi Petri river, in order to secure communication across the river, over which a bridge had been recently constructed. While on the march through the wood towards the Bermeja, with a portion of his army, the British General received intelligence that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain of Chiclana, about fifty miles from Tarifa, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. Considering that position as the key to that of Santi Petri, General Graham quickly countermarched, in order to support the troops left for its defence, but before the British could get quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, while the enemy's left wing was rapidly ascending, and his right stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood, within cannon-shot. As a retreat, in the face of such an enemy, would involve the allied army in confusion, owing to the narrowness of the ridge of the Bermeja, on which the divisions would arrive at the same time, General Graham, relying on the heroism of his soldiers, and regardless of the number and position of the enemy, determined on an immediate attack. Accordingly, under fire of 10 guns, the right wing proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's Division on the hill, while the left wing advanced on General Laval's column. At this time the 87th Regiment and 3 companies of the Coldstream Guards, supported by the 28th and 67th Regiments, charged the enemy and swept before it General Laval's Division, capturing a howitzer and the eagle* of the 8th French Regiment, which lost heavily. Still advancing with irresistible audacity, the 87th and supporting regiments crossed a narrow valley and routed the reserve. The right wing, meanwhile, was not less successful, and, after a sanguinary contest, General Rufin's Division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the French were in full retreat, and General Graham remained on the field of battle, his troops being too exhausted to pursue. The Spanish General, La Pena, who had looked on during the severe struggle, failed to seize the favourable opportunity of striking a blow at the remains of the French army, and the British

* The eagle was captured by Sergeant Patrick Masterson, 87th Regiment, and being the first taken in action in the Peninsular War, the Prince Regent promoted the Sergeant to the rank of Ensign.

proceeded to Cadiz on the following day. As Byron sarcastically observes of our Spanish allies :—

“ Bear witness bright Barrosa, thou canst tell
Whose were the sons that bravely fought and fell.”

. The 87th went into action 722 strong, and lost 1 officer and 44 men killed, and 4 officers and 124 wounded.

In his order to the battalion, already quoted, Colonel Gough says of its deeds on this memorable day :—“ At the brilliant action of Barrosa the conduct of the 87th, in taking up the first position under a most destructive fire from the enemy’s artillery, and a column three times its numbers, when it formed with the precision of parade movements, gave a happy omen of the issue of the day. The advance of the battalion in line, its volley into the two battalions of the 8th, and its charge on that corps, called for and received the proudest meed of gallantry, the enthusiastic approbation of such an officer as Sir Thomas Graham. This charge was rewarded by the wreathed eagle of the 8th French Regiment, and a howitzer; it led in a great measure to the total discomfiture of the right column under General Laval, and nearly annihilated two battalions of one of the finest regiments in the French army; of 1,600 men which they brought into the field, only 350 returned to Chiclana. The ready formation of the right wing from amidst the ranks of the retreating enemy, and their charge on the 54th French Regiment, which at this moment attacked the right of the 87th, was rewarded by the marked approbation of their esteemed chief. The ultimate advance of the battalion on the enemy’s guns was equally praiseworthy.”

General Graham stated, in his public despatch :—“ No expressions of mine could do justice to the conduct of the troops throughout. Nothing less than the almost unparalleled exertions of every officer, the invincible bravery of every soldier, and the most determined devotion to the honour of His Majesty’s arms, in all, could have achieved this brilliant success against such a formidable enemy so posted.” The British loss was 1,243 *hors de combat*, and that of the French about 3,000 men, including, among the prisoners, the General of Division Ruffin, the General of Brigade Rousseau, the Chief of the Staff, General Bellegarde, and 17 officers. General Graham wrote the following note on the field of battle to General Sir John Doyle, Colonel of the 87th Regiment :—“ Your regiment has covered itself with glory. Recommend it and its commander (Gough) to their illustrious patron, the Prince Regent; too much cannot

be done for it." In consequence of his conspicuous gallantry, Major Gough was promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and received a medal for the battle. As a testimony of his appreciation of the distinguished conduct of the battalion on various occasions, and especially at Barrosa, on the 18th April, 1811, the Prince Regent was pleased to approve of the 87th being in future styled "the Prince of Wales's Own Irish Regiment," and of its bearing, as a badge of honour, on the regimental colour and appointments, an eagle with a wreath of laurel above the harp, in addition to the arms of His Royal Highness.

Both Houses of Parliament unanimously voted their thanks to Lieutenant-General Graham, and the officers and men under his command, for this victory, the importance of which drew from Lord Wellington the following letter, addressed to the commanding general, dated 25th March:—"I beg to congratulate you and the brave troops under your command on the signal victory which you gained on the 5th instant. I have no doubt whatever that their success would have had the effect of raising the siege of Cadiz, if the Spanish corps had made any effort to assist them, and I am equally certain, from your account of the ground, that if you had not decided with the utmost promptitude to attack the enemy, and if your attack had not been a most vigorous one, the whole allied army would have been lost. I concur in the propriety of your withdrawing to the Isla on the 6th, as much as I admire the promptitude and determination of your attack of the 5th, and I most sincerely congratulate you and the brave troops under your command on your success."*

Colonel Gough remained at Cadiz with his battalion until 10th October, when he embarked for Tarifa, which, on 20th December, was invested by a French division 10,000 strong, under General Laval. The garrison consisted of 1,000 British troops, and about 700 Spanish, under the command of Colonel Skerrett, of the 47th Regiment. The breaching batteries of the enemy kept up a heavy fire on the defences between the 29th and 31st December, and a breach in the walls being

* In a letter of the same date to Marshal Beresford, Lord Wellington said:—"General Graham has returned to the Isla, after having fought the hardest action that has been fought yet. The Spaniards left him very much to his own exertions. The Spanish General is to be brought to a court-martial." Also writing to Lord Liverpool, his lordship said:—"I am convinced that H.R.H. the Prince Regent will duly appreciate the promptitude with which Lieut.-General Graham decided to attack the enemy in the important position of which they had obtained possession, the vigour with which he carried that decision into execution, and the gallantry displayed by all the officers and troops upon that glorious occasion."

effected, preparations were made for storming on the 31st December. At eight in the evening a picked body of 2,000 French troops advanced to the assault, and were received by the 87th with three cheers, the drums and fifes playing the Irish airs of "Patrick's Day" and "Garryowen." Instead of assaulting the breach, the column continued their rapid career along the wall and dashed against the portcullis, which had been bent in by the heavy flood of the previous night. But they were received by a deadly fire from the 87th. Says Napier :—"The leading officer, covered with wounds, fell against the portcullis, and gave up his sword through the bars to Colonel Gough. The French drummer, a gallant boy, who was beating the charge, dropped lifeless by his officer's side, and the dead and wounded filled the hollow. The remainder of the assailants then breaking out to the right and left, spread along the slopes of ground under the ramparts, and opened a quick irregular musketry fire. At the same time a number of men, coming out of the trenches, leaped into pits dug in front, and shot fast at the garrison, but no escalade or diversion at the other points was made, and the storming column was dreadfully shattered; for the ramparts streamed forth fire, and from the north-eastern tower a field-piece, held in reserve expressly for the occasion, sent, at pistol-shot distance, a tempest of grape whistling through the French masses, which were swept away in such a dreadful manner that they could no longer endure the destruction, but, plunging once more into the hollow, returned to their camp, while a shout of victory, mingled with the sound of musical instruments, passed round the wall of the town." In this brilliant affair the 87th lost only 5 men killed, and 2 officers and 21 men wounded, exclusive of Colonel Gough, who received a slight wound on the head, though his name does not appear in the return of casualties.

The British commander issued the following general order on the same day :—"Colonel Skerrett most sincerely congratulates the British garrison on the glorious result of the affair of today. Two thousand of the enemy's best troops attacked the breach, and were totally defeated with immense loss. On our side all behaved nobly, but the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Gough and the 87th Regiment surpasses praise." Colonel Gough said in his order on the disbandment of the battalion in 1817 :—"At Tarifa a species of service new to the British army called for a renewal of that steady gallantry which marked the conduct of the 87th at Barrosa. The immense superiority, in number, of the enemy, added enthusiasm to discipline: the

cool intrepidity, the strict observance of orders, the exulting cheer when the enemy's columns pressed forward to the attack, proved the feelings which influenced the defenders of the breach of Tarifa, and was as honourable to them as soldiers as their humane conduct to the wounded (when the enemy fled) was to their characters as men. The persevering attention to their duty on the walls, in conjunction with their brave comrades the 2nd Battalion of the 47th, exposed to the continued fire of an enemy ten times the number of the garrison, and to the most dreadfully inclement weather, led to the ultimate abandonment of the siege, and was rewarded by the approbation of their general, their prince, and their country." The 87th Regiment, in commemoration of the gallantry of the 2nd battalion, was authorised to bear the word "Tarifa" on its colours and appointments.

On the 5th January, 1812, Marshal Victor, who had arrived in the French camp, relinquished the siege, the capture of which, Soult declared in an intercepted despatch, would be "more hurtful to the English and the defenders of Cadiz than the taking of Alicant, or even Badajoz." In August, 1812, Colonel Gough proceeded to Seville, whence he marched on 30th September to join Lord Wellington. On 31st October, as the battalion was proceeding to join the 4th Division of the army at Aranjuez, near Madrid, it was engaged, with other troops, in defending the bridge and fort of Puerto Largo, which Soult attacked with 9,000 men. Madrid was reached that night, and, on the following day, the division commenced the retreat towards Salamanca. The 87th, which formed a portion of the rear-guard, was attacked by the enemy's cavalry on the 16th November, and when it arrived in Portugal at the end of December, the losses during the retreat, chiefly from disease caused by fatigue and inclement weather, were 2 officers and 192 men.* At length, his preparations complete, Wellington commenced his wonderful career of victory, marching without check from the confines of Portugal across the Pyrenees into the heart of the invader's country.

"See then, our men, with ardent hearts advance,
And rend the laurels of insulting France."

Advancing across Spain in command of the 2nd Battalion of the 87th Regiment, Colonel Gough took part in the glorious victory of Vittoria on the 21st June, 1813. The battalion

* The incidents of this retreat, which commenced on the unsuccessful result of the siege of Burgos, have been given in the memoir of Sir Thomas Willshire.

formed part of Major-General Hon. Charles Colville's Brigade of the 3rd Division, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, who fell at Waterloo, which, with the 7th Division, formed a portion of the centre column under Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie. Sir Rowland Hill, on the right, was to attack the French position in the basin of Vittoria with the 2nd Division, while Wellington himself led the centre column, consisting of the Light and 4th Divisions, on the right, and Lord Dalhousie, with his two divisions, on the left. A third column of attack, under Sir Thomas Graham, was to make a *détour* to the left, and, crossing the Zadorra at Vittoria, attack the French right, and cut off their retreat by the road towards Bayonne. As soon as the movements of the two flanking columns were well developed, Wellington intended that the four divisions of the centre column, under himself and Lord Dalhousie, should cross the bridges over the Zadorra, and attack the enemy in front.

The whole army marched from their stations on the river Bayos at an early hour, and the column under Lord Dalhousie arrived at Mendoza soon after the commander-in-chief had crossed the Zadorra. Sir Thomas Picton crossed the river at a bridge higher up, with his division, followed by Lord Dalhousie with the 7th Division, which, with the centre brigade of the 3rd Division, attacked the French right centre in front of the villages of Margarita and Hennadad. The Marquis Wellington seeing the hill in front of the village of Arinez weakly occupied by the enemy, ordered Sir Thomas Picton to storm this position with the right brigade of his division. Now arrived the opportunity of the 87th to win fresh laurels, and, under its gallant leader, it added a glorious page to its regimental history. Advancing at a run, in close columns of battalions, diagonally across the front of both armies, the brigade, led by Major-General Colville, carried the hill with impetuous valour, the French retreating under the fire of 50 guns, to the second range of heights, on which their reserve had been posted. The brigade now pushed on to the attack of the village of Arinez, whence the enemy were driven at the point of the bayonet. Soon after the French gave way at all points, and the pursuit commenced. So rapid was the advance of the 87th, under its intrepid leader, that the *bâton* of Marshal Jourdan fell into the hands of a sergeant of the battalion.

The brilliant advance of General Colville's brigade on the fortified hill crowned with the French artillery, was one of the finest things in the whole war, and the 87th Regiment suffered

proportionately. Of 637 officers and men with which it went into action, 1 officer and 87 men were killed, and 9 officers (of whom 3 died of their wounds) and 157 men were wounded. Colonel Gough said of the services of the battalion :—"The charge of the Prince's Own on the hill crowned with the enemy's artillery, and covered with a strong column, called forth the marked approbation of Major-General Hon. Charles Colville, as did the pursuit of that column, though flanked by a corps greatly superior in numbers. The cool steadiness with which they preserved their second position under the fire and within a short range of a large portion of the enemy's field artillery, although the battalion at this time had lost upwards of half the number it took into the field, showed the steady perseverance in bravery and discipline which ever marked the glorious career of the corps." *

The Prince Regent notified to the victorious British general his promotion to the rank of Field Marshal in the following terms, alluding to the capture of Marshal Jourdan's *baton* by the 87th Regiment :—"You have sent me among the trophies of your unrivalled fame the staff of a French Marshal, and I send you in return that of England." Vittoria was the most complete of Wellington's victories, as Salamanca was the best from a strategic point of view. The 87th Regiment received the royal permission to bear the word "Vittoria" on its colours and appointments, in recognition of its gallantry in the great victory of the 21st June, the consequences of which were most disastrous to the French cause in the Peninsula.

The genius of Marshal Soult, now appointed to the Command-in-Chief of Napoleon's Peninsular army, whom Wellington regarded as the best of the French generals, prevented the British Commander-in-Chief from fully reaping the fruits of his great victory. Between the 27th July and 1st August General Colville's brigade, which included the 87th Regiment, held an exposed point on the right of the position taken up by the British army in the Pyrenees, but the French, being finally defeated on the 1st August, retreated and took up a position in their own country. Pushing through the pass of Roncesvalles, the British army first caught sight of France on the 8th August, but some weeks elapsed before they stood within the

* Lord Wellington says in his despatch :—"Major-General the Hon. Charles Colville's Brigade of the 3rd Division was seriously attacked in its advance by a very superior force well formed, which it drove in, supported by General Inglis's Brigade of the 7th Division, commanded by Colonel Grant of the 82nd Regiment. These officers and the troops under their command distinguished themselves."

promised land, the French having exchanged their rôle of invaders for invaded. On the 10th November was fought the desperate battle of the Nivelle, which raged from 5 A.M. till dark, when Marshal Soult was driven from a strong mountainous position, which he had been fortifying for three months, with a loss of 4,265 men and 151 pieces of artillery. The 87th, under the gallant leadership of Colonel Gough, formed part of the brigade of Colonel Keane (afterwards Lord Keane of Ghuznee), and covered itself with glory. In his valedictory order Colonel Gough said :—"In the attack on the fortified hill at the action of the Nivelle, and the gallantry which rendered the conduct of the battalion so conspicuous in the subsequent attacks on that day, called for those animated expressions from Major-General the Hon. Charles Colville and Colonel John Keane, who commanded the division and brigade—'Gallant 87th!' 'Noble 87th!' and deservedly were those titles bestowed."

The regiment, which went into action with a strength of only 386, lost 1 officer and 75 men killed, and 5 officers and 135 men wounded. Among the latter was Colonel Gough, whose wound was so severe that he was compelled to relinquish the command of his battalion, which, strengthened by recruits, was engaged at the battles of Orthes and Toulouse. For his services at the Nivelle Colonel Gough received the gold cross, and soon after the Spanish king conferred on him the insignia of the Order of St. Charles. On the cessation of hostilities the 2nd Battalion 87th Regiment proceeded from France to Cork, where it arrived on the 20th July, 1814, and Colonel Gough assumed command of the battalion. He missed the Waterloo campaign. Thus, after fighting in the chief battles of the Peninsula, he was disappointed of participating in the final campaign of the prolonged struggle with France which consigned Napoleon to St. Helena :—

"That name shall hallow the ignoble shore,
A talisman to all save him who bore :
The fleets that sweep before the eastern blast
Shall hear their sea-boys hail it from the mast.

The rocky isle that holds or held * his dust
Shall crown the Atlantic like the hero's bust,
And mighty nature o'er his obsequies
Do more than niggard envy still denies."

* In this and other passages in his poem "The Age of Bronze," Byron predicts the removal of Napoleon's ashes to France, whose

"Honour, fame, and faith demand his bones."

On the conclusion of peace Colonel Gough was created, for his services, a Knight of the Bath, an honour well earned by repeated acts of gallantry and the blood he had shed in his country's service. As leader of the gallant 87th from Talavera to the Nivelle, he was also granted, as an augmentation to his coat of arms, a representation of the breach of Tarifa, and a hand grasping the colours of the 87th. A French eagle, with a wreath of laurel round the body as representing that placed upon the eagle of the 8th French Regiment by Napoleon, formed also one of his heraldic supporters. The Corporation of Dublin conferred on the gallant officer the freedom of their city, and presented him with a sword of considerable value.

On the 1st February, 1817, the 2nd Battalion of the 87th Regiment was finally broken up at Colchester, in pursuance of orders for the reduction of the army; on which occasion Sir Hugh Gough issued an admirable and comprehensive order, to which reference has been made, detailing the services of the battalion in the field, which indeed were almost identical with those of its gallant colonel. In the concluding paragraph of this order he said:—"The Prince's Own Irish bled prodigally and nobly; they have sealed their duty to their king and country by the sacrifice of nearly two thousand of their comrades. In parting with the remains of that corps in which Sir Hugh Gough has served twenty-two years, at the head of which, and by whose valour and discipline he has obtained those marks of distinction with which he has been honoured by his royal master, he cannot too emphatically express the most heartfelt acknowledgments and his deep regret." Colonel Gough took command of the 22nd Regiment, then stationed in the south of Ireland, and at the same time discharged the duties of magistrate during a period of great excitement and disturbance.

In 1830 he became a Major-General, and, seven years later, went out to India to assume the command of the Mysore division of the Madras army.

PART II.

Sir Hugh Gough is Appointed to the Command of the China Expedition—Capture of Canton—The Operations at Amoy—Surrender of Ohusan Island—Capture of Chinghae and Ningpo, and Repulse of the Chinese Army—Assault of Chapoo and Expedition up the Yang-tse-Kiang river—Storm of Chin-Kiang-foo—End of the China War—The Gwalior Campaign—Battle of Maharajpore—The Sutlej Campaign—Battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshuhur, and Sobraon—The Punjab Campaign—Battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat—Lord Gough returns to England—Death and Character.

• In 1840 war broke out with China, and, in the following year, Sir Hugh Gough was appointed to the command of the army employed there. He arrived in H.M.S. *Cruizer*, at Whampoa, in the Canton river, on the 2nd May, 1841, and, in conjunction with Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, commanding the fleet, undertook the operations for the reduction of the great southern capital of the Celestial Empire, the combined forces having captured the Bogue Forts, on either side of the Bocca Tigris, on the 26th February preceding.

On the 6th May, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Gordon Bremer took possession of the last defences of Canton on the river, which the enemy abandoned without firing a shot; and, on the 23rd, when the whole of the forces required for the attack on the capital were assembled, the operations commenced. By two o'clock the arrangements were completed by Sir Hugh Gough and Sir H. Senhouse (temporarily commanding the navy); and as they were desirous of signalising the anniversary of Her Majesty's accession by a brilliant feat of arms, the British force moved to the attack, the troops being placed in boats which were towed by the Hon. E. I. Co.'s steamers' *Atalanta*, Commander Rogers, Indian Navy, and *Nemesis*, Lieutenant Hall, R.N. The plan resolved on was to make the principal point of debarkation of the British forces to the north-west of the city, while another column was to take possession of the factories and co-operate with the naval force, which was to attack the river defences. The right column, towed by the

Atalanta steamer, was to attack and keep possession of the factories; the left, towed by the *Nemesis*, in four brigades, towards the left in front. The right column, under the command of Major Pratt, 26th Regiment, reached its point of attack before 5 P.M., and took possession of the factories. The left column, towed by the *Nemesis*, owing to the difficulties of the passage and the immense number of craft in tow, did not reach until dusk the point of debarkation, about five miles by the river line above the factories. Sir Hugh Gough, who accompanied this column, only landed the 49th Regiment, with which corps he made a reconnaissance to some distance, meeting a few straggling parties of the enemy. The following morning the remainder of the column landed, and the whole proceeded to the attack soon after daylight.

The heights to the north of Canton were crowned by four strong forts, and the intermediate ground being intersected by hollows under wet paddy (rice) cultivation, enabled him to take up successive positions, until the army approached within range of the forts on the heights and the northern face of the city walls. At eight o'clock, Sir Hugh opened a well-directed fire on the two western forts and made the dispositions for attack *en échelon* of columns from the left, the 49th being directed to carry a hill on the left of the rearest eastern fort, supported by two native regiments, while General Burrell was ordered to take the 18th Royal Irish and Royal Marines, and carry a hill to their front which was strongly occupied, with the object of cutting off the communication between the two eastern forts, and covering the advance of the 49th in their attack and storm of the nearest. Major-General Burrell had also directions to push on and take the principal square fort, when the 49th made their rush. Simultaneous with these attacks, the brigade of seamen, landed from the fleet, was directed to carry the two western forts, covered by a concentrated fire from the whole of the guns and rockets.

At half-past nine o'clock the advance was sounded, and, says Sir Hugh Gough, "it has seldom fallen to my lot to witness a more soldierlike and steady advance, or a more animated attack. Every individual, native as well as European, steadily and gallantly did his duty." The result of this combined movement was that the two forts were captured with comparatively small loss, and the British troops looked down on Canton within 100 paces of its walls. The brigade of seamen, under Captain Bouchier, R.N., captured a position on the north-western face of the city and its suburb, and the two western forts were

also quickly captured. Meanwhile, frequent attacks were made upon his left, by bodies of men sent from an entrenched camp to the north-east of the city, but were repulsed by the 49th, which also dislodged the enemy from a village. Reinforced by the 18th, this regiment, led by General Burrell, now attacked and carried the Chinese camp, but suffered severely from the enemy's guns on the north-east face of the city. Sir Hugh Gough now prepared to assault a strong fortified height within the city walls, which would give him possession of Canton, but on the morning of the 26th, the Mandarins proposed to treat for terms, and Captain Elliot, the British Plenipotentiary, came to a settlement, by which, among other provisions, one million dollars were to be paid on the following day, and six millions within one week, the Imperial troops also to quit the city forthwith. On this adjustment of the quarrel, Sir Hugh Gough observes in his despatch, "Whatever might be my sentiments, my duty was to acquiesce." The General and his troops had, however, done their duty, and the Duke of Wellington, speaking in the House of Lords of the operations between the 23rd and 26th May, by which, with the loss of 14 killed and 91 wounded, strong forts mounting 49 guns were captured, said that they were "unprecedented in the military and naval history of the country." At noon of the 27th May, the British flag was hauled down in the four captured forts, and the troops and seamen marched back to Tsing-hae. On the 9th August, Sir Henry Pottinger, the new Plenipotentiary, and Sir William Parker, the naval Commander-in-Chief, arrived from India, and assumed charge of their departments, Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer returning to Bombay in the *Atalanta*.

The first operation undertaken by the military and naval chiefs was the capture, on the 26th August, of Amoy, a city having strong batteries mounting heavy guns, and a garrison of 10,000 men. After a bombardment of about two hours by the fleet, led by the Hon. Co.'s steam frigate *Sesostris*, Commander Ormsby, Sir Hugh Gough landed at the head of the 18th Royal Irish and in conjunction with the 26th Regiment and Naval Brigade, marched to assault the forts, which surrendered almost without firing a shot. On the following morning Sir Hugh marched into the city, meeting with no opposition. The expedition sailed from Amoy on the 5th September, and on the 21st reached the Chusan group of islands. Having reconnoitred the defences of Tinghae and Chusan harbour, which were of a very formidable character, Sir Hugh disembarked the troops on the 1st October, in two divisions, and supported by the fire of

the fleet, drove the Chinese from their defences at Tinghae, the works of which were then scaled without opposition.

On the 7th, the troops were re-embarked, and, two days later, the expedition arrived off Chinghae, a city inclosed by a wall 22 feet in height, and nearly 2 miles in circumference. Commanding the city is a citadel of enormous strength, having 21 guns mounted in 3 batteries, and only communicating with Chinghae, on the west side, by a steep causeway which leads over a ditch, this space being commanded by batteries. The troops were landed on the morning of the 10th, under protection of a fire from the steamers, and, by 11 o'clock, says Sir W. Parker, "we had the gratification of seeing the British colours planted in one of the batteries on the opposite shore, and, in a few minutes, the others on that side were all carried, and the Chinese driven flying in every direction before our gallant soldiers on the heights." A few minutes later the wall of the citadel was breached by the fire from the ships, and soon the Naval Brigade, emulating the example of their comrades, carried the works without opposition, the Chinese flying into the city. It only remained now to dislodge them from here, which was done by the sailors and marines escalading the walls in two places, the enemy, as usual, escaping on the other side. No time was now lost in attacking Ningpo, the great city 15 miles up the river, having a population of 300,000 souls. Taking with him only 750 bayonets, exclusive of artillery and engineers, on 13th October, Sir Hugh Gough proceeded up the river, and, finding the gates barricaded, escaladed the walls with his handful of men.

After this no event of importance occurred for some months, but, on the 10th March, 1842, the Chinese army summoned up sufficient resolution to make attempts to recapture Ningpo and Chinghae, but they were repulsed at both places with much slaughter. Learning that a body of the enemy were encamped at Tsekee, about 11 miles from Ningpo, Sir Hugh Gough embarked 1,100 men, on the 15th March, in the steamers and boats, and proceeded to attack them. On this occasion the Chinese forces, which included some of the Imperial Guard, exhibited more courage than in any previous encounter, but they were driven out of their camp with heavy loss, and, on the following morning, the British troops marched back to Chinghae and Ningpo. On the 7th May the latter place was evacuated by Sir Hugh Gough, who, leaving small garrisons at Chinghae and Chusan, sailed to attack the city of Chapoo, at the mouth of the Tseentang. The place was reconnoitred on the 16th, and, on

the 18th, the fleet opened fire on the batteries, mounting altogether 45 guns, which returned only a feeble fire. Sir Hugh Gough now disembarked the troops in a fine sandy bay to the eastward, and led them in person over the heights, at the west end of which the naval brigade had meanwhile been landed. The town was soon captured by this combined movement, with slight loss, the Chinese troops, about 10,000 in number, evacuating the city.

While lying off Chapoo large reinforcements of ships and men arrived from England and India, including the 98th Regiment, commanded by the late Lord Clyde. A few days were occupied in destroying the defences and war *matériel* found at Chapoo, and, on the 28th May, the fleet sailed for the entrance of the Yang-tse-kiang river, where they remained until the 13th June, when they crossed the bar and proceeded up the great river to the point of its junction with the Woosung, where the enemy had erected extensive lines of works. Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker reconnoitred these defences, which were of a very formidable character, and, had they been held with spirit, might have defied double the force the British commanders had at their disposal; but the Chinese exhibited throughout this war, with one or two exceptions, a singular pusillanimity, and the military and naval leaders had no doubt as to the result of an attack. The bombardment was commenced by the fleet on the morning of the 16th, the enemy replying with spirit, and lasted for two hours, when their fire beginning to slacken, the troops and naval brigade were landed, and the enemy gave way after a very feeble resistance, the seamen and marines having the honour of first entering the batteries, in which were found no less than 211 iron and 42 brass guns, mostly upwards of 11 feet in length, mounted on pivot carriages, and fitted with sights. Between the 17th and 20th, some more batteries were captured higher up the river, some near to, and others fifty miles beyond, the city of Shanghai, bringing the total number of guns taken to 364, of which 76 were of brass.

Some negotiations now took place with the Chinese Imperial Commissioner Elipoo, but without any result, and the British commanders determined to advance up the mighty Yang-tse, and take possession of the cities of Chin-kiang-foo and Nankin, as the only means of bringing the Emperor and his stiff-necked advisers to a due sense of their impotence in presence of a "barbarian" armament. The fleet, consisting of 73 sail, left their anchorage at Woosung on the 6th July, and, proceeding up the river a distance of 170 miles, arrived off Chin-kiang-foo,

on the 20th, having only encountered slight opposition from some batteries off Seshun. Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker having reconnoitred the approaches to the city, on the 21st July the troops were disembarked in three brigades, under Major-Generals Lord Saltoun, Bartley, and Schoedde. Lord Saltoun, on the right, opened the attack by capturing an entrenched camp, after a brief resistance, and, soon after, General Schoedde, with the left brigade, escalated the wall of the city, and, after clearing the whole line of ramparts to the westward, carried the inner gateway, which was obstinately defended by the Tartar troops. Meanwhile, Sir Hugh Gough advanced with General Bartley's centre column, against the south gate, which was blown in, and, about six in the evening, the troops entered the city, which was found to have been deserted by the inhabitants, while, in the Tartar portion, hundreds of dead bodies were discovered in the houses, the men having committed suicide after strangling their women and children. The British loss was 185, including about 20 men who had died from the excessive heat of the day.

Leaving a strong body of troops to secure the mouth of the Grand Canal and occupy the heights, for the city was untenable owing to the stench arising from the dead bodies, Sir Hugh Gough embarked the remainder of his army for Nankin, before which city, the second in the Empire, he arrived on the 9th August. "This vast city," says Sir Hugh Gough in his despatch, "which contains a population of 1,000,000 souls, is surrounded by a wall 20 miles in circumference, and in some parts 70 feet high; and the garrison numbered 15,000 men, of whom 600 were Tartars, exclusive of militia. The nearest part of the wall is 1,000 yards distance from the river, and at this point the ships of war took up their stations in order to shell the city." On the 11th, the force was landed and the guns placed in position, the 13th being fixed for the bombardment. But the Commanders-in-Chief were anxious to avert the scenes of horror they had witnessed after the assault of Chin-kiang-foo, when "women and children in dozens were hanging from beams, or lying on the ground with their throats cut, or drowned in deep wells to prevent their falling into our hands."

The fall of one of the strongest cities in China had at length taught the Emperor and his advisers that the white "barbarians" were invincible, and, a truce being granted, full powers were given to three high commissioners to conclude a treaty of peace. After some conferences, this instrument was signed on board the *Cornwallis*, on the 29th August, by the commissioner Keying

and his two colleagues, exactly three years from the day on which the English were expelled from Macao by Lin. By the terms of this treaty, the Chinese Government agreed to pay an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars; conceded the opening of the ports of Canton, Amoy, Fow-chow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to British merchants, consular officers to reside there, and just tariffs to be established; ceded the island of Hong Kong in perpetuity—of which Sir Henry Pottinger, the able plenipotentiary, was appointed the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief—and agreed to other articles of minor importance.* On the payment of the first instalment of the indemnity, the fleet dropped down the river, and the greater portion of the force, with Sir Hugh Gough, returned to India, garrisons being left at Chusan and Amoy, and 1,800 men at Hong Kong. The military and naval forces engaged in China were awarded a medal and twelve months' batta, and Sir Hugh Gough received a baronetcy with the Grand Cross of the Bath. Votes of thanks were moved in both Houses of Parliament, that in the Lords by the Duke of Wellington, and in the House of Commons by Lord Stanley (the late Lord Derby), who spoke with his accustomed eloquence. In August, 1843, soon after his return to India, Sir Hugh Gough was appointed Commander-in-Chief, in succession to Sir Jasper Nicolls, an officer of lengthened and honourable service, who had been irreverently dubbed by Sir Charles Napier, for his conduct during the Afghan war, "an old woman."

Sir Hugh Gough had scarcely assumed the duties of his new position before he was once more engaged in the congenial occupation of campaigning. We will not go into the causes that brought about the short Gwalior campaign of 1843. Scindia's army consisted at this time of 30,000 infantry, 10,000

* It is amusing to read the insolence displayed in the official report of the Imperial Commissioner Keying, to the Emperor. He says that "the barbarians begged that we should give of foreign money 21,000,000 dollars;" and again, "The said barbarians begged that Hong Kong might be conferred on them as a place of residence. They also requested to be allowed to trade at Kwang-chow, Fun-chow, Heamun (Amoy), Ningpo, and Shanghai. The Shewei Hanling and his colleagues, as the barbarians had already built houses on Hong Kong, and yet could beg for favour, granted that they might dwell there. With reference to Kwang-chow and the other four places, they must be considered too many. As to the regulations of the trade, as well as the duties, they should early be decided upon;" and so on, as to other items, though in one paragraph the Commissioner shows that his pride had suffered a cruel shock, for he says:—"I, your servant, have examined and found what are the unwarrantable demands of the said barbarians, which they so importunately urge; and they are deserving of the utmost hatred. But they have already attacked and laid in ruins Kingkou, and it is proved that not only the rivers but Chinkiang it will be difficult to recover speedily; and I am apprehensive we shall be blocked up both on the north and south, which will be the heaviest calamity."

horse, and 200 pieces of cannon—all highly disciplined troops who had been trained by European officers; this large force was wholly out of proportion to the requirements of the kingdom, and had been a source of uneasiness to successive Governors-General. At length, the scenes of violence and bloodshed enacted in the capital by the soldiery, which arrogated to itself the position of the Prætorian bands in ancient Rome, and the expulsion of the Regent we had nominated, from the councils of the Ranees, induced Lord Ellenborough, on December 28th, to direct Sir Hugh Gough to march, forthwith, on Scindia's capital. The Gwalior troops had taken up a strong position at Chounda; but, during the night, seven battalions of infantry, with twenty heavy guns, advanced to the village of Maharajpore, and entrenched themselves, with their formidable batteries in front. The Commander-in-Chief and his staff had fallen into our too common error—that of despising the enemy—and considered them “a contemptible rabble,” who would fly at the first shot. The progress of the army was regarded in the light of a military promenade, the ladies of the chief officers, and the Governor-General, accompanying it on elephants, while General Churchill, the Quartermaster-General, held the enemy so cheap that he went into action armed with his riding whip, an act of contemptuous folly for which he paid with his life.

Sir Hugh, with the right wing, advanced to Maharajpore, not knowing of the enemy's change of position to this point, when a sudden discharge from the masked batteries of the Mahrattas gave the first intimation of the proximity of Scindia's army. The British force numbered about 12,000, that of the enemy amounted to 14,000; but, luckily for us, there was divided leadership among them, each brigade having marched out of Gwalior and taken up its own position. The battle that ensued was hotly contested; our light field-pieces could not make head against the heavy guns of the Mahrattas, and, seeing this, the Commander-in-Chief flung his infantry in heavy masses on the opposing batteries. The enemy served their guns with frantic desperation; but the devotion of the gunners was of no avail against the heroism of the British line. Victory crowned Sir Hugh's efforts to retrieve what was nearly proving a disaster, and, at length, the enemy were driven from their entrenchments with the loss of 56 guns. On the same day General Grey, with the left wing of the army, gained the victory of Punniar, and the campaign ended by the submission of the Mahrattas. But sterner work was before the hero of Barrosa and Tarifa, and the

next enemy he confronted in the field was made of stouter stuff than even the foe vanquished at Maharajpore.

The Court of Directors—alarmed at the aggressive policy of their warlike Governor-General, who had annexed Scinde, and broken the power of the Mahratta soldiery, and, worse than all, did not scruple to conceal his contempt for his commercial masters in discourteously-worded despatches—recalled Lord Ellenborough and selected, as his successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, an old comrade of Sir Hugh Gough in the Peninsula, who had shown high qualities at a critical moment in the battle of Albuera and whose moderation and administrative capacity while head of the War Office, inspired confidence in the civilian element of the ruling powers in Leadenhall Street. Sir Henry Hardinge arrived at Government House, Calcutta, on the 23rd July, 1844, but, though his mission was to inaugurate a peaceful policy, within less than eighteen months of his arrival he was involved in a life-and-death struggle with the most formidable power we had encountered since the death of Tippoo Sultan at Seringapatam.

A vast army of 70,000 Sikhs, with 250 guns, collected to the north of the Sutlej, had been a standing menace to our Indian Empire for many years. Lord Ellenborough had seen this, and, following the sagacious plan of dealing with our enemies in detail, he had intended, after humbling the arrogance of the Mahrattas, to try conclusions with the Khalsa chivalry. However, his premature recall prevented this, though, considering a Sikh war unavoidable sooner or later, he had, previous to his departure, increased the force on the frontier, to 17,600 men, with 66 guns, which Sir Henry Hardinge, his successor, having the eye of a soldier, immediately on his arrival raised—but so gradually and quietly that it attracted no attention—to 40,500, with 94 pieces of artillery. During the life of Runjeet Singh, the "Lion of the Punjaub," that wily old chieftain had held the reins of Government with too tight a hand to allow even the warlike Sikh soldiery to plunge the country into a war with the English; but every year it became more apparent that the struggle for supremacy in northern India could not be long delayed. The death of old Runjeet was immediately succeeded by six years of anarchy throughout the Punjaub, and scenes of murder and assassination at Lahore. At length the signal for the long-impending conflict was given, on the 17th November, 1845, by a general order from the Lahore Durbar, for the invasion of British territory. Animated by a feeling of national and religious enthusiasm, 60,000 Sikhs, with 40,000

armed followers, and 150 guns, crossed the Sutlej in the brief space of four days, and, by December 16th, the whole force was encamped close to Ferozepore.

Sir John Littler held the fort of Ferozepore with 7,000 men and 31 guns, and, with characteristic British temerity, for the Sikh army was branded by our political officers as a demoralised rabble, marched out and offered the enemy battle, a challenge which they, providentially and most unaccountably, declined to accept. Leaving Toj Singh behind to watch Littler's force, Lall Singh pushed on, with 15,000 men and 22 guns, to the village of Moodkee, where took place the first battle of the Sutlej campaign, in which it was demonstrated that our troops had met, not a "rabble," but foemen worthy of their steel.

On the 18th December, our army had made a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles, over an arid plain, and, at the sight of a pool of water, on arriving at the encamping ground, men, horses, and camels rushed down impetuously to appease their thirst. Just as the troops were preparing to cook their meal—they had not broken their fast since the preceding night—a column of dust announced the approach of a large force, which Major George Broadfoot, who had galloped off to reconnoitre, reported was raised by the Sikh army. About four in the afternoon, the battle commenced by an attempt of the enemy to outflank our force, but their horse were gallantly repulsed. In the action that ensued, the superiority of the Sikh soldiery, trained by Allard and Ventura, over our sepoys became quickly apparent. Sir Hugh Gough had under his orders 11,000 men, with five troops of horse artillery and two field batteries, and the Sikh army numbered 15,000 men, with 22 guns. The decision could not be doubtful, even though the British force after their long march had to proceed two miles further to encounter their foe, who had taken up their position behind some low sand-hills on the broad plain. The action was opened by the guns, under Brigadier (now General Sir George) Brooke, and speedily the brigades of cavalry, under Brigadier (the late Sir Michael) White and Brigadier (the late Sir John) Gough, made a brilliant charge, the 3rd Dragoons, which earned the sobriquet of "Moodkee Wallahs," charging with headlong valour through the Sikh horse and over the guns, sabring the artillerymen at their pieces. But the latter soon re-opened a heavy fire on the infantry divisions, which, amid the shades of evening, advanced under command of Major-Generals Sir Harry Smith, Sir John McCaskill, and Sir Walter Gilbert. The Sikhs stood bravely to their guns, but, at sight of the levelled bayonets,

abandoned their entrenchments, leaving 17 guns in the hands of the victors.

The British troops, too weary to follow, bivouacked on the field of battle, their loss in the action being 215 killed, including Generals Sir John McCaskill, who had served under Sir George Pollock in his victorious campaign, and Sir Robert Sale, "the hero of Jellalabad," Quartermaster-General of Queen's troops. The wounded numbered 757, including Brigadiers Mactier and Bolton, and Major (now General Sir Patrick) Grant. The chief loss fell on the 3rd Dragoons, which left on the field 2 officers and 58 men, and the 31st Regiment came next with 25 killed and 121 wounded.

On the following day a welcome reinforcement arrived in the 29th Regiment and 1st Bengal Fusiliers, which had marched from Kussowlie and Sabathoo, respectively, on the evening of the 10th December. It was known that the main Sikh army was entrenched at Ferozeshuhur, and preparations were made in view of the approaching struggle, the Governor-General placing his services as second in command at the disposal of Sir Hugh Gough. The British army marched on the 21st December, and, effecting a junction with 5,000 men and 23 guns, under Sir John Littler, arrived before the Sikh position at 3 P.M. when the battle, big with the fate of India, commenced. The enemy, under Lall Singh, drawn up behind carefully-made entrenchments, numbered over 30,000 men, supported by 100 cannon, chiefly heavy guns of position, while the British army were somewhat less than 17,000, with 69 guns. Sir Hugh Gough held the command on the right, Sir Henry Hardinge in the centre, and Sir John Littler on the left, Sir Harry Smith's division being in reserve.

The Commander-in-Chief moved across the plain up to the entrenchments, under a murderous fire of heavy guns, to which our light field-pieces could give but an ineffectual reply. There was no strategy, only down-right dogged fighting, but the fire was more than flesh and blood could stand; one of Sir John Littler's brigades, advancing on the strongest section of the enemy's position, was mowed down under the iron hail of shot and grape, and compelled to retire, the 62nd Regiment alone leaving 76 men and 7 officers within 50 paces of the work. The brigades on the left of the line, under Brigadiers Wallace and McLaren, carried the guns and held the entrenchments in their front, but elsewhere—notwithstanding the heroic charge of the 3rd Dragoons, who swept over the Sikh batteries, and through the entrenchments, and rejoined their comrades on the opposite

side, and the attempt of Sir Harry Smith to carry the works with the reserves—the enemy remained in possession, or were mixed up with our troops, portions of whom managed to retain a footing in the defences. So the soldiery, tired and parched with thirst, lay down on the field, while their leaders looked forward with anxiety to the morrow, which was to decide the cast of the die for empire. Some high in command even suggested a retreat, but the proposal was scouted by such men as the heroes of Tarifa and Albuera, who, as General Grant would have said, “decided to fight it out on this line.” Even the night was not suffered to pass without molestation, the Sikh guns firing wherever the watch-fires showed a mark. Ever and anon their ammunition-waggons exploded; but though their camp was on fire in several places, they kept up an intermittent discharge on the recumbent ranks of our soldiers—the fire of one gun especially was so annoying that Sir Henry Hardinge himself charged it with the 80th and 1st Europeans, two gallant and highly-disciplined regiments, and spiked it. In the morning the Commander-in-Chief visited the broken regiments and detachments, scattered over the field that had yet to be won, or the cause of England was jeopardised. Like Harry of Monmouth on the eve of Agincourt:—

“Forth he goes, and visits all his host;
Bids them good morrow, with a modest smile,
And calls them—brothers, friends, countrymen.”

With the morning's light vanished despondency, and as the British line, led by its heroic chiefs, advanced in *echelon* of regiments, with artillery on either flank and in the centre, they swept over the Sikh entrenchments with the impetuosity of a flood, and were quickly masters of the camp, with 73 guns, and many standards. Those who were witnesses of the scene are not likely ever to forget the wild enthusiasm with which the entire army greeted Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge as they rode along the line, decimated but victorious, though the more thoughtful among the leaders conceded that our power could scarcely have stood such a second Pyrrhic victory.* None

* Much controversy in India arose as to the wisdom of Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge in attacking the Sikh entrenchments, but a competent judge, the late Sir Henry Havelock, who served on the Governor-General's staff throughout the campaign, maintained that the commanders had only a choice of difficulties before them, and adopted that which appeared to be least perilous. It was said that the object of the advance having been accomplished by the relief of Sir John Littler's division, the army might have retired to its encampment at Moodkee, prevented the march of the enemy on Delhi, and on the arrival of the reinforcements constrained the Sikhs to move out to certain destruction, or have stormed the entrenchment with

too soon had the final attack been made, and victory even now was almost snatched from their grasp. Tej Singh arrived on the scene, with a fresh army of 20,000 men, but, fortunately, he knew not that the British Generals had expended their ammunition. Putting a bold face on it, and taking the offensive, which always impresses an Oriental, Sir Hugh Gough opened fire with his guns, and advanced his cavalry, when Tej Singh,* after a brief cannonade, losing heart, turned away from the field.

It is curious to speculate on the results to our Indian Empire had the Sikh general arrived a few hours earlier, or had he opposed his fresh array of men and guns against the shattered ranks and empty ammunition waggons of his opponents. Had fate so ordered it, it is by no means improbable that the combined Sikh army would have swept like a flood through Delhi, and surging over or round the walls of the fort at Agra, would have encountered no obstacle to its course even at Calcutta itself. The danger menacing our power on that momentous night and morning was scarcely excelled in the darkest hour of the great Mutiny, and that it was averted was due to the dauntless bearing and bold counsels of the two great soldiers presiding over the state and the army.

The battle of Ferozeshuhur was the most sanguinary to the victors of any fought in India, the British loss being 694 killed, and 1721 wounded. As at Moodkee the 3rd Dragoons and 31st Foot suffered severely, the former having 60 killed and 92

the aid of battering guns and a larger force. "But," he observed, "though such a plan offered great advantages, the nature of our original defence of the frontier rendered it hardly feasible, for it would have hazarded the safety of Ferozepore, with its indifferent entrenchments, guarded by only one regiment, and its defenceless town, garrisoned only by another. Within the field-work were valuable munitions, and our women." It was objected, moreover, that the attack on the enemy's entrenchments after the junction of Sir John Littler, when the troops were jaded by a long march, was totally unadvisable. But Havelock considered it of the last consequence to strike a blow at the Ferozeshuhur force before it could be reinforced by the army blockading Ferozepore. "Attack," he said, "in the forenoon of a long march! it was one of those cases in which it would have been better to have attacked at midnight, rather than not to have anticipated the junction of the two armies. The object was to defeat the one before the other could come to its aid. No sacrifice is too great to complete such a manoeuvre. Every risk must be run, and every fatigue endured to attain such an object in war. The entrenched camp was attacked and carried. The resistance was, indeed, terrific, and the loss on our side tremendous. But—this is war. Nor," he remarked, "must it be forgotten, that though Sir Hugh Gough's army, after a harassing march, was not in the best condition for so serious an encounter, its condition for fighting would not have been improved by a bivouac, through a night of bitter cold, without food, shelter, or water; during which time the army of Ferozepore might have joined that of Ferozeshuhur, and thus diminished the chance of success."

* It was said in the Indian press that Tej Singh was bribed by our political officers, but this Sir Henry Lawrence denied.

wounded, and the latter, 61 and 101 respectively. The 9th Regiment were the heaviest losers, having 70 killed and 203 wounded; then came the 29th, with 70 and 118 in each category; the 1st Bengal Europeans, with 47 and 157; and the 54th, with 27 and 97. No less than 54 officers were killed, including Brigadier Wallace, Major Fitzroy Somerset, and Major George Broadfoot, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, who so distinguished himself at Jellalabad, and whose uncommon military and political talents marked him for a great career.

There was no attempt to carry the war into the enemy's country, but Sir Hugh Gough awaited reinforcements in men and supplies, and it was not until 10th February, 1846, that he fought the final battle of the war, though, meanwhile, Sir Harry Smith had routed the Sikhs with slaughter at Aliwal. All through the month of January the Khalsa leaders were engaged, unmolested, constructing a position on the left bank of the Sutlej, at Sobraon, until, at length, they had thrown up a most formidable line of works, mounting 67 heavy guns, and defended by 35,000 of the flower of their legions. After a delay of seven weeks, the long-expected siege-train, together with munitions of war, arrived from Delhi, and, being joined by Sir Harry Smith, the Commander-in-Chief arrived before Sobraon on the 8th February, and preparations were at once made for the assault.

Sir Hugh Gough advanced on the morning of the 10th February, and opened fire with his guns. But, as at Ferozeshuhur, the British light field-pieces, though fought by the Bengal Artillery, second to none in the world, and officered by such brilliant soldiers as Horsford, Fordyce, and Lane, were unable to silence the heavy Sikh guns, and, after a cannonade of two hours, Sir Hugh Gough resolved to try the efficacy of his favourite weapon, the bayonet, which he believed, and had proved on many fields, to be invincible in the hands of the British soldier. The 3rd division of infantry, led by Sir Robert Dick, on the left, Sir Harry Smith on the right, and Major-General Walter Gilbert in the centre, advanced to the assault with impetuous ardour, and a desperate hand-to-hand encounter ensued, while Sir Joseph Thackwell, commanding the cavalry division, led the 3rd Dragoons in a brilliant charge over the Sikh guns. Thus the battle raged along the line until the enemy, driven from their works, were swept headlong into the river. The carnage exceeded anything known even by such soldiers as the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General, and

it was estimated that 8,000 Sikhs fell in action, or were drowned, as they struggled across the broken bridge under the pitiless fire of Lane's horse-artillery guns. The British loss was also heavy, and, of 15,000 men engaged, 320 were killed, including 16 officers, among them being Sir Robert Dick, the gallant leader of the 3rd Division, and Brigadier Taylor of the 9th Regiment, a distinguished Peninsular officer, who had commanded Sir George Pollock's advance at the forcing of the Khyber Pass; and 2,063 were wounded, of whom 140 were officers, including General Gilbert, Brigadiers Penny and McLaren, and Colonel John Gough, who had succeeded Sir Robert Sale as Quartermaster-General of the Royal Army. But the victory was complete, and 67 guns, 200 camel-pieces, many standards, and a vast mass of warlike stores were the military trophies.

On the 20th February Sir Hugh Gough was at Lahore, where a peace was signed, on the 9th March, by the Sikh Sirdars acting on behalf of the youthful Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, by which Sir Henry Hardinge, while nominally sparing the independence of the kingdom—which was placed under a Sikh Council of Administration with Colonel Henry Lawrence as Resident at Lahore,—exactd a fine of one and a half million sterling and annexed the Jullundur Doab (between the Sutlej and Beas) with Hazara and Cashmere, which latter was subsequently made over (sold we should say) to Rajah Gholab Singh, on his agreeing to pay one-half the indemnity.

Votes of thanks to Sir Hugh Gough and his army were moved in the House of Lords by Lord Ripon, and supported by the Duke of Wellington, and, in the Commons, by Sir Robert Peel, while the city of London voted its freedom to the three leaders, Sir Hugh Gough, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Sir Harry Smith. Sir Hugh was also raised to the peerage as Baron Gough of Chin-kiang-foo in China, and of Maharajpore and the Sutlej in the East Indies; Sir Henry Hardinge was created a Viscount, and both received handsome pensions from the East India Company. The victor of Aliwal was also made a baronet and other honours were awarded to the principal officers engaged in this arduous struggle.

But these distinctions, though well deserved, were somewhat prematurely conferred. A short but deceptive peace followed the treaty of the 9th March, but neither the spirit nor the power of the Khalsa were broken, and an incident of little import in itself, had it been promptly met, acted as a spark to light again the flames of war in the Punjaub. This incident

was the murder, on the 19th April, 1848, of two British officers sent on deputation to Mooltan, whence the insurrection spread gradually, until the whole country from Hazara to the confines of Scinde was in a blaze. Lieutenant Edwardes, Political Assistant at Bunnoo, made a gallant attempt to confine the conflagration within a narrow area, and achieved some surprising successes, but his means were totally insufficient to enable him to cope with an organised rebellion. Lord Gough yielded to a procrastinating policy, and, beyond despatching the late Sir Hugh Wheeler (of unhappy Cawnpore memory), to the Jullundur Doab, our latest acquisition, and a division to Mooltan, which was the act of the Resident at Lahore, nothing was done. Indeed it was not until news arrived of the raising of the siege of Mooltan, that Lords Dalhousie and Gough awoke to a due sense of the crisis. Lord Gough now took command of the army at Ferozepore, and opened the campaign on the 22nd November by the action of Ramnuggur. Pitted against the heavy Sikh guns our artillery got into difficulties, when the 14th Dragoons made repeated charges on 3,000 of the enemy's horse, but, getting into heavy sandy ground on the bank of the Chenaub, were terribly cut up by the Sikh fire, Colonel William Havelock, commanding the 14th Dragoons, and Brigadier-General Cureton, both cavalry officers of high distinction, being among the killed. Lord Gough waited for his heavy guns, and then sent a division of 8,000 men across the Chenaub higher up, under the command of Sir Joseph Thackwell. On the 3rd December that officer fought the action of Sadoolapore, which was chiefly confined to an ineffective cannonade at long range.

On the 11th January, 1849, Lord Gough reviewed, and addressed in a short soldierly speech, his army which had lain idle for more than five weeks near Heylah; and, on the following day, broke up his encampment, and marched with 14,000 men to encounter the enemy, who had been entrenching themselves in a strong position with their left resting on the heights of Russool, on the Jhelum. The first day's march was to Dinghie, and at seven o'clock on the morning of the 13th January, Lord Gough advanced towards Shere Singh's position, but finding, as he advanced, that the enemy were too strong for him to turn their position, his lordship decided, about 1 P.M., to halt for the day. While the weary soldiers were waiting for orders to fall out, the enemy opened fire with their horse artillery on the skirmishers, which seemed so like a challenge that the veteran commander ordered his guns to the front and their fire being

returned by the heavy artillery of the enemy, "thus exposing the position of his guns, which the jungle had hitherto concealed;" the battle was begun. This duel went on for nearly two hours, when, as the day was waning, Lord Gough ordered the infantry to advance and carry the Sikh guns, which were not discernible, their position being only indicated by the flashes out of the dense jungle. Brigadier-General Colin Campbell's division on the left was the first to advance, and his left brigade, Hoggan's, drove the Sikhs from their guns, but the other brigade, under Penny-cuik, was not equally successful. The British regiment of this brigade, the 24th, arriving before the Sikh batteries with unloaded muskets, and blown by the run, were shot down in hundreds and would have been annihilated, but for the timely aid of Hoggan's brigade, consisting of the 61st Queen's and 36th and 46th Native Infantry, which, led in person by Brigadier-General Colin Campbell with brilliant gallantry, carried the guns and snatched the victory from the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile Sir Walter Gilbert had been more successful on the right of the line, and the 29th Regiment increased the credit it had gained at Ferozeshuhur, by storming the Sikh batteries, assisted by the 30th and 56th Native Infantry, but the jungle was too dense to be penetrated, and the brigade had to be content with a partial triumph. The other brigade of this division, consisting of the 2nd Bengal Europeans (now the 104th Regiment) displayed the discipline of seasoned soldiers in advancing through the jungle in good order, when pressed by overwhelming odds. In this disastrous day, for such it was, though we remained in possession of the field, the right brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier Pope, disgraced itself, though the 3rd Dragoons behaved with its wonted heroism. But notwithstanding the chequered character of the battle, and that a British regiment fled from the field in panic flight, riding over Christie's and Huyshe's troops of horse artillery and among the tents of the field hospital in the rear, the field was won, for the Sikhs fell back a few miles, leaving 40 guns, of which 12 were brought into camp; on the other hand, we lost 4 guns, and the colours of one British and two Native regiments were either captured or lost. During the night Lord Gough, yielding to the advice of Brigadier-General Campbell and the want of water, fell back about a mile, and took up a new line clear of the jungle.

In this battle—which, says Havelock, "was the most sanguinary and the nearest approximation to a defeat of any of the great conflicts of the British power in India"—our loss was 38 officers, and 564 men killed, and 94 officers, and 1,557

men wounded. Of this number the 24th lost, 459 killed and wounded, among the former being 13 officers; and the 56 Native Infantry had 7 officers killed, and 316 men *hors de combat*, while the 25th Native Infantry lost almost as heavily. Lord Gough awaited the arrival of reinforcements at Chillianwallah, and these arriving on the fall of Mooltan, he prepared to put the finishing stroke to the war. But it appeared as if this honour was to be denied him, for the press of England, infuriated at the heavy loss incurred at the battle of the 13th January, demanded his recall, and, at length, the Government, yielding to the outcry, on the advice of the Duke of Wellington, appointed Sir Charles Napier, Commander-in-Chief, with authority to supersede the veteran Gough. But his lordship, as in the recent instance of Lord Chelmsford, forestalled his successor, and crowned a military career which is an honour to the country and his army, by a brilliant and decisive victory.

The loyalty towards their chief displayed by the army after Chillianwallah, notwithstanding their losses and some palpable blunders, and on the more recent occasion referred to above, is a striking instance of the soldierly feeling and *solidarité* as the French call it, existing among men of the sword, who visit with far milder censure than civilians, the mistakes of their leaders, though they themselves are of necessity the chief sufferers. A remarkable instance of this charity is afforded in Sir Vincent Eyre's work on the operations before Cabul in 1841, wherein, with characteristic generosity, he makes allowances for General Elphinstone's pusillanimity, so contrary to his own energetic and brilliant method of conducting military operations, as shown at Arrah.

Lord Gough was no profound tactician. He was a firm believer in the efficacy, under all and any circumstances, of cold steel—"cauld stale," as his lordship called it in his rich Irish brogue—and, truth to say, the numerous instances in which he had proved its invincibility, almost warranted his temerity in applying it once again against the Sikh batteries and masses of infantry concealed in the jungle. On the 11th February, Shere Singh retreated from his position at Chillianwallah, and marched round the British flank, towards Wuzerabad, with the intention of crossing the Chenaub, and throwing himself on Lahore, but his passage was barred by General Whish's division, which, on the capture of Mooltan, marched to join Lord Gough, and was encamped at Ramnuggur.

On the 15th February, the British Commander-in-Chief

started after the Sikh Sirdar, and, between the 17th and 20th, was joined by the Mooltan division. Shere Singh, with 50,000 men and 60 guns, had taken up a position in front of the walled town of Goojerat, with his flanks covered by a dry nullah and a deep narrow stream which emptied itself into the Chenab.

On the morning of the 21st February, Lord Gough, confident of victory, moved to the attack with his magnificent army of - 24,000 men, and 84 guns, forming the finest artillery force ever assembled under our flag in India. The infantry marched for two miles in columns of brigades, and then deployed into line, and halted while the guns went to the front, and, for two hours, maintained a duel with the Sikh artillery. The latter were soon overmatched, and, notwithstanding the heroism with which the Khalsa gunners stood by their pieces, their fire gradually slackened under the iron hail of shot and shell. At this time Lord Gough nearly fell a victim to the daring of the Sikh horse, a party of whom made a desperate dash from the rear towards some heavy guns beside which his lordship was standing, and a brief hand-to-hand combat ensued, which ended in the rout of the Goorchurras. The Sikh fire well nigh silenced, the British infantry advanced against two villages, the key of the position, and soon the Sikh army was in full flight, leaving 53 guns, and all its *matériel* in the hands of the victors.* Lord

* The late Sir Henry Havelock, than whom there was no abler contemporary critic on Indian warfare, thus criticises Lord Gough's strategy:—"Shere Singh, with a considerable force of Khalsa troops and armed peasantry, and gaily equipped, and effectively, though not handsomely, mounted Goorchurras, and supported by a formidable artillery, boldly assumed the line of the larger river, the Chenab. It seems strange that the Commander-in-Chief should not have been impressed with a conviction of the extreme hazard of the attempt to force successively the banks of three great rivers, since Peshawur might be considered the objective point, with the aid of an infantry, gallant and disciplined, but numerically so inadequate to carrying on war with a high hand. Shere Singh, by moving to the northward, had compelled the British to operate upon two lines. They were combining at once from Bombay and Bengal against Moolraj, and at the same time had to confront the insurrection in the superior delta of the five rivers. For this extensive and dangerous operation the force of infantry was visibly feeble. Rivers too had to be passed, and the pontoon train was glaringly deficient. Under these circumstances, the Commander-in-Chief would, it may well be argued, have exercised a sound discretion if he had determined to act offensively on one line only at a time; if he had restricted his own efforts to preventing Shere Singh from detaching a single soldier to the relief of Moolraj, awaited its fall, which was a matter of calculation, and then, as was ultimately done in fact, have thrown his united forces with irresistible power on Shere Singh. If any such plan ever presented itself to his mind, or was suggested to him, it may be easily supposed that a leader of his sanguine temperament rejected it with disdain. Doubtless, he thought of bursting with headlong force the barriers of the Chenab, the Jhelum, and the Attock; and his ultimate success will suffice in the eyes of the unreflecting to justify this resolve. But fair military considerations seem to lead to a different conclusion, and to teach, that it was precisely because he persisted in thus operating on a double line, with insufficient forces and remarkable want of caution,

Gough used to call Goojerat "Tennant's battle," after the officer in command of the artillery, and, in truth, it was an artillery contest, though some regiments of Harvey's and Penny's brigades, of Sir Walter Gilbert's division, found an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, notably the 10th Foot, under "Tiger" Franks, and the 2nd Bengal Europeans, under Steel, while the charge of Malcolm's Scinde Horse, and the 9th Lancers, on a large body of Afghan Cavalry, led by Akram Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed, was a brilliant episode of the battle. In achieving this success, our loss was only 92 killed, including 6 officers, and 700 wounded, among whom were 38 officers. The heaviest loss fell on the 2nd Europeans, which had 152 men *hors de combat* out of 500 engaged; then came the 31st Native Infantry with 143 casualties, whilst Captain (the late Sir John) Fordyce, lost 31 men killed, and 25 wounded, in his troop of horse artillery.

Sir Joseph Thackwell pursued the broken remnant of the Sikh army a distance of 14 miles, and "Væ Victis!" was the cry of the British Dragoons, who gave no quarter to the men who had murdered their wounded after Chillianwallah.

On the 22nd February Sir Walter Gilbert set off with a strong division in pursuit of Shere Singh's broken battalions, and between the 10th and 13th March, 16,000 men, the remnant of the legions trained with such assiduous care by Runjeet Singh and his European generals, laid down their arms to Sir Walter Gilbert, whose *spolia opima* numbered 41 guns, including the field-pieces taken at Chillianwallah. Sir Walter continued the pursuit of the Afghan horsemen, who made such a brave show, but achieved so little at Goojerat, and only halted on reaching Peshawur, whence the chivalry of Dost Mahomed had just made their escape amid the derision of the inhabitants who shut the gates against them.

Though in Lord Gough's hands the flag of England reeled on the sanguinary field of Chillianwallah, it was only to be borne triumphant by the veteran standard-bearer at the "crowning mercy" of Goojerat, and soon, taken up by younger hands, it

that the period between approaching the Chenab, and conquering at Goojerat, exhibited such a spectacle of abortive exertion and useless slaughter. While he combated alone, the power of the British in India, and the reputation of their arms, was exposed to no small hazard. It was only when reinforced by the troops which the fall of Mooltan set free, that the British leader marched to easy and assured victory. In estimating, however, the advantages of cautious and defensive manoeuvres on the Chenab, it is not to be forgotten how tremendous a clamour would have been raised against such a campaign by idle cavillers, and the press of India, which constitutes a power not to be despised, because its influence stealthily communicates itself to the Government."

fluttered on the walls of Peshawur, and was displayed in the gorge of the Khyber. This was the last service rendered by Lord Gough to his country, and it must ever fill an important, though checkered, page in our Indian annals.

All hostilities having now ceased, Lord Dalhousie issued a manifesto, on the 30th March, annexing the Punjaub to the dominions of the East India Company, but the troops who had effected this great conquest were not treated with the liberality hitherto shown. They were accorded six months' batta, though Lord Ellenborough had given the same for the victory of Maharajpore, and Sir Henry Hardinge conferred twelve months' batta for the Sutlej campaign. A medal was awarded, with one clasp only for Goojerat, but, through Lord Gough's persistent remonstrances, clasps were granted for Chillianwallah and Mooltan. Only less valued by the troops was the general order issued by their beloved leader, on the 31st March, on the dispersion of his army, when his lordship, in the final words of his address to the last British force he was to lead to battle, expressed his "cordial and affectionate farewell."

The Houses of Parliament bestowed its thanks on the 24th April, and Lord Gough received a step in the peerage as Viscount Gough of Goojerat in the Punjaub, and of the city of Limerick, in the United Kingdom. Lord Dalhousie was created a Marquis, Sir Walter Gilbert a baronet, and Sir Joseph Thackwell received the G.C.B., and Brigadier-Generals Campbell, Wheeler, and Cheape, the ribbon of the Bath. Viscount Gough was granted a pension of £2,000 a year for himself and his two successors in the title, and received a similar pension from the East India Company. The veteran now sheathed his sword for the last time in his country's service, and returned to England after more than half a century of warfare in three quarters of the globe. For him now

"Farewell the plumed troop, and the big wars,
That make ambition virtue! Oh, farewell!
Farewell the neighing steed, and the shrill trump,
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,
The royal banner; and all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!"

One of the most gratifying of the many testimonies to his long and meritorious services, of which he was the recipient on his arrival in England, must have been a speech delivered by his old chief the Duke of Wellington, at a banquet given by the members of the United Service Club, at which his Grace presided. "We have seen," said the Duke, "that

throughout the services carried on under the direction of my noble friend, Lord Gough, he has himself afforded the brightest example of the highest qualities of the British soldier, in the attainment of the glorious successes which have attended the British army under his command." In 1854 Lord Gough was appointed Colonel-in-Chief of the 60th Rifles, and, in the following year, succeeded Lord Raglan as Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue). In 1856, on the conclusion of the war with Russia, he proceeded to the Crimea, on the part of her Majesty, to invest Marshal Pelissier and the other officers of the British and French armies, with the Order of the Bath. In the following year he was created a Knight of St. Patrick, being the first recipient not holding an Irish peerage. In 1859 he was nominated a Privy Councillor, and, on the institution of the "Most Exalted Order of the Star of India" in 1861, was created a Knight Grand Cross. Lord Gough was also appointed the first Colonel of the London Irish Volunteers on the inauguration of the Volunteer movement, and, to crown his honours as a soldier, received, in November 1862, the baton of Field Marshal. We have now completed the story of the career of this most gallant soldier, and it only remains to record "the last scene of all,"—his defeat by the great enemy to whose prowess kings, statesmen, and soldiers must alike succumb when he advances to the assault.

Lord Gough died on the 2nd March, 1869, in his 90th year, at his residence at Booterstown, near Dublin, and, recently, his countrymen have placed an equestrian statue of this fine old soldier in their capital. His erect figure and striking features must have been no little loss at Court pageants, in the engravings of several of which he may be recognised in his uniform of Colonel of the "Blues."

Lord Gough was not distinguished by the possession of any great intellectual power, but though he never wrote history, he made it. Bred in camps from his boyhood he was pre-eminently a soldier. Fearless and prompt in action, he might be trusted to carry out his orders, and the Duke of Wellington, at Talavera and Vittoria, and Sir Thomas Graham at Barrosa, felt satisfied that when they had given him instructions to hold or capture a position, it would be done at all hazards, and at any sacrifice. But as a Commander-in-Chief, he was not equally successful, for his lordship was no strategist, and it was perhaps fortunate for his own reputation that he was never placed in command of an army in European warfare, when his favourite tactics would have brought disaster on his country. Hurling masses

of infantry against an Asiatic army unshaken by artillery, behind entrenchments, as at Maharajpore and Chillianwallah, was not very judicious, though, in Oriental warfare, *élan* and audacity have carried many a field from Plassey to the Peiwar Kotul, but, in Europe, such tactics would ensure the defeat of any general mad enough to put them in practice.

The name of Lord Gough will long be held in affectionate remembrance by the army he so often led to victory, as a frank soldier, fearless in battle, and jealous of the interests of his comrades of all ranks. That he held this place in the hearts of the soldiery who idolised him, is not the least that can be said in praise of a general, and they apply to the veteran who served his country from 1795 to 1849 in every clime, and freely shed his blood in her sacred cause.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR H. EVELYN WOOD, V.C., K.C.B.

Enters the Navy--Serves with the Naval Brigade at Sebastopol--Gallantry on 18th June, 1855--Joins the Army--On Service in the Indian Mutiny--Gains the V.C.
--The Ashantee Expedition--Proceeds to South Africa--The Transkei Campaign
--The Zulu War--Defence of Kambula--Return to England.

AMONG the officers who distinguished themselves in Zululand, the most prominent was the gallant soldier whose name stands at the head of this page; and deservedly so, for Sir Evelyn Wood displayed many of the qualities that constitute a great general. He is brave, which "goes without saying," as the French say, for does he not boast the possession of that most highly envied of all distinctions, the Victoria Cross? He is a good tactician, as he testified in the Ashantee War, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, his master in the art of war, and as he has shown more recently in the campaigns in Galekaland and against the Zulus. He is thoroughly familiar with his profession, not only practically from his large experience in the field, but theoretically from his studies in the Staff College, of which he is a passed student. He has the art of inspiring confidence and attracting the regard of those under his command, he is an accomplished writer and orator, and he is familiar with military law. Possessed of these qualifications, and gifted with a good constitution, and the advantage of youth, for he is only in his forty-second year, the future is promising, and his military career will be watched with interest by his personal friends and those of his countrymen who pay special regard to the military history of this country.

Sir Evelyn Wood is the fifth son of the late Rev. Sir John Page Wood, Bart., of Hatherley House, Gloucestershire, for many years Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, by his marriage with a daughter of Mr. Samuel Michell, R.N., of Croft West, Cornwall, who held the rank of an admiral in the Portuguese service.

His father, who died in February, 1866, was succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest surviving son, Sir Francis Wood, formerly a lieutenant in the 17th Regiment, upon whose death, in April 1868, the title devolved on his only son, now Sir Matthew Wood.

Sir Evelyn Wood was born on the 9th February 1838, and entered the royal navy in April 1852. He soon attracted the notice of his superiors as a smart young officer, and had the good fortune to see active service at an early age. When war with Russia broke out, his ship the *Queen*, Captain Michell, of 116 guns, was ordered to the Black Sea. When the allied commanders undertook the siege of Sebastopol, a Naval Brigade was formed from the ships of the fleet, and landed under the command of Captain Stephen Lushington of the *Albion*, 91 guns. The force consisted, when fully organised, of 1,050 men with 50 guns, and with the handiness characteristic of our seamen, they constructed their own batteries without the aid of engineers, and were ready to open fire before the artillery battering guns were in position. Young Evelyn Wood, then a boy of sixteen, landed with the first detachment of the Naval Brigade, and his smartness attracted the notice of the late Captain Sir William Peel, then commanding H.M.S. *Diamond*, 26 guns, who made him his aide-de-camp. The youngster and his chief were congenial spirits, and Evelyn Wood was fortunate in serving his apprenticeship in war under a leader who had much of the genius and dash of Cochrane, and furthermore, he profited by the instruction and example of the lamented commander of the *Shannon* Naval Brigade. The first bombardment of Sebastopol was commenced on the 17th October, 1854, the British batteries opening fire with 73 guns and mortars, and the fleet attacking the forts on the sea face, while the Russians replied with 109 pieces of ordnance. In this bombardment the Naval Brigade took a prominent part, and the destruction of the Malakhoff tower was entirely due to the accurate fire of the battery of heavy ship-guns landed from the *Terrible* and *Retribution*, while the guns under the immediate direction of Captain Peel, who was accompanied by his young aide-de-camp, shared with the artillery the honour of silencing the Redan. During the six days of the bombardment, the Naval Brigade lost 1 officer and 11 men killed, and 6 officers and 60 men wounded. Evelyn Wood distinguished himself on the first day of the bombardment, and was publicly thanked by Commodore Lushington for his gallantry. On the 9th April following, the second bombardment was opened, the British batteries firing from 123 guns

and mortars. It was the most terrible bombardment in the annals of war, and Prince Gortschakoff well described the circle of fire that inclosed the great Russian stronghold from the sea to Inkerman as a "*feu d'enfer*." But the result was not commensurate, for whereas on our side 26 pieces of ordnance were disabled, and the expenditure of ammunition was 47,854 shot and shell, the guns silenced and dismounted in the Mamelon and Malakhoff during the day were replaced at night. Again, on the 9th April, Mr. Midshipman Wood was thanked by his commanding officer for his gallantry.

One of the most sanguinary days of the investment of Sebastopol was the 18th June, a day hitherto of glorious memories in the British army, but which, though relieved on this occasion by many acts of heroism, will henceforth be remembered by many as one of disaster, though the subject of this memoir can look back on it with pride. On the previous day the fourth bombardment was commenced, the British batteries opening fire from 166 guns and mortars, and early on the morning of the 18th, the three columns detailed to assault the Redan, moved to the attack. Each column was to consist of 1,750 men, of whom only 400 were for the actual assault, the remainder being disposed in support. The columns were preceded by covering parties, and by sailors divided into four parties, each of 60 men, carrying ladders, led by Captain Peel, who was accompanied by Mr. Midshipman Wood.

The assault of the Redan was unsuccessful, our casualties being 93 officers and 1,380 men, exclusive of the Naval Brigade. Of the ladder-men, only two parties, or 120 men, were engaged, of whom 14 were killed, and 47 wounded, being more than one half. Among the latter was the heroic Peel, who himself carried the first ladder, and Mr. Midshipman Wood (wounded severely). His gallantry on this occasion attracted the attention of his superior officers, and, young as he was, he had the proud satisfaction of being mentioned in the despatches of the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Lord Raglan. Mr. Howard Russell, the *Times* correspondent, mentions his heroism on this occasion, in the following terms in his *History of the British Expedition to the Crimea*:—"Mr. Wood, though badly wounded, got up to the abattis, and rendered himself so conspicuous for a gallantry of which he had given several proofs on previous occasions, that Lord Hardinge presented him with a commission in the 13th Light Dragoons, on his expressing a desire to exchange into the army." The Attorney-General, in proposing the health of Sir Evelyn Wood, at a banquet given in

his honour by the Bar, on the 1st November last, spoke as follows of the repeated instances of gallantry displayed by the guest of the evening :—"We remember his heroic and valuable services when he was attached to the Naval Brigade, and especially his achievements during the siege of Sebastopol. We remember that on the 18th October, 1854, a young naval officer was publicly thanked by his commanding officer before all the troops, for a signal act of valour. That, on the 9th April, 1855, on the day of the opening of the second bombardment against the fortress which gave us so much trouble, he was again thanked for a conspicuous deed of bravery, and that it was his lot on the memorable 18th June, in the same year, to be the only naval officer attached to the right column who reached the Redan, and gaining the foot of the rampart of that most formidable fortification, carried a scaling ladder with one arm, while his other arm hung powerless by his side, shattered with grape." For his services in the Crimea, Evelyn Wood received the war medal, with two clasps, the Knight of the Legion of Honour, the 5th Class of the Medjidie, and the Turkish Medal.

He had imbibed such a love for soldiering from his experiences on shore with the Naval Brigade, that, on his return to England, he accepted the offer of a commission, without purchase, and on the 7th September, 1855, was gazetted a cornet in the 17th Lancers. On the 1st February in the following year, he received his promotion to a lieutenancy, and, in 1858, proceeded to India and took a distinguished part in the operations for the suppression of the Mutiny.

In September, 1858, when Major-General John Michel was appointed to the command of the Malwa Field Force, Lieutenant Wood was attached to the column, and, in the following December, acted as orderly officer to Colonel C. H. Somerset, military secretary to Sir Henry Somerset, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, who was appointed to the command of the cavalry of the Malwa Field Force. The first important action in which he was engaged, was at Rajghur, where, on the 15th September, General Michel defeated a strong column of the enemy, under Tantia Topee, capturing 30 guns. But though the rebels were reported as completely dispersed, Tantia Topee was a leader of singular energy and resource, and for many months he eluded several British columns, attacking fortified posts or isolated parties and then disappearing, or, when he could not escape, giving battle with the forces under his command, and, notwithstanding defeat, reappearing on the scene at a distant

point. After the broken remnants of the Gwalior Contingent entered Esaughur, which was surrendered on the 2nd October, 1858, together with 21 guns, through the treachery of the garrison, Tantia Topee, hearing of Brigadier Smith's approach, evacuated the place, and marched upon Chundairee, the gates of which were thrown open to him by the commandant. But General Michel was moving upwards from Seronge, and Brigadier Smith from Esaughur, so Tantia Topee divided his force into two columns, one under his own command, and the second under the Nawab of Banda. The latter took the direction of Mungrowlie, but was stopped and defeated on the 9th October, by General Michel, with the loss of 6 guns, who again, a few days later, gained a victory over Tantia Topee, in which Lieutenant Wood distinguished himself.

That chief, at the head of 10,000 men, left Lullutpore on the 16th October, and, making a flank march eastward, arrived, on the 18th, at Sindwaho, evidently with the intention of turning the protected Ghauts of the Jumna. General Michel, who had on that day reached Nahut, ten miles distant, hearing during the night of this movement, marched for Sindwaho at 4 A.M. on the 19th of October, with a force of 1,769 men, of which 660 were cavalry, European and Native, and 8 guns. On his arrival at 8.30, he found the enemy drawn up in order of battle on the road leading to Marownee, and the rebel leader, foreseeing his intention to cut off his advance to the east, boldly attacked the cavalry, consisting of detachments 8th Hussars, commanded by Major Chetwode, and 1st Bombay Lancers, under Lieut.-Col. Curtis. The enemy were, however, charged and driven back by these horsemen, assisted by 90 sabres of the 17th Lancers, and soon the artillery and infantry came up, when the action became general. The rebels offered a spirited resistance, and even repeatedly assumed the offensive, but the wings of the 71st and 92nd Highlanders, with the 19th N. I., eventually succeeded in repulsing them at all points, and the two former regiments having captured their four guns, the rebels, leaving 500 dead on the field, retreated and were pursued a distance of nine miles.

Of our hero's conduct in this action, the General says, in his despatches, that Colonel de Salis, commanding the cavalry, specially notices "the gallantry of Lieutenant Wood, of the 17th Lancers, who, having from paucity of officers in the 3rd Light Cavalry, volunteered during the campaign to command a troop of that regiment, on this occasion almost single-handed, came up to and attacked a body of the enemy."

General Michel arrived on the 22nd October at Lullutpore,

when he received information that the enemy, having been checked at the Syrus Ghaut on the Betwa, had returned to Jack-loon, a place about eight miles S.W. of Lullutpore, whence being without guns or wheeled carriage, they moved rapidly through the dense jungles and mountains, marching by Pauly, Nahut, and Balabert, to Kunja. The General immediately proceeded in pursuit by forced marches, and, at daybreak on the 25th, discovered a portion of the rebel force crossing his front, just beyond Kurai, or Kharce, the main body under Tantia Topee having passed that place about two or three hours before his arrival, on march to the south. The infantry, which had preceded the cavalry, came into action at once, but the enemy had little spirit for fighting, and, breaking into three separate bodies, fled, pursued by the cavalry. Captain Sir W. Gordon, commanding a detachment, consisting of 90 sabres, 17th Lancers, and 88 of the 3rd Light Cavalry, under Captain Oldfield and Lieutenant Wood, followed for about six miles, and cut up a large number of the rebels. Colonel Curtis and Captain Mayne also pursued in other directions, while the infantry cleared the neighbouring villages for a distance of five miles. During the sixty hours, ending at 1 P.M. on the 25th, these latter had marched sixty-two miles, twelve of which were over broken ground; and the General notices this feat "as a proof of the excellent spirit and devotion of the soldiers."

Soon after this Lieutenant Wood was attached as Staff-officer to Brigadier Somerset, who went in pursuit of Tantia Topee with a small column, consisting of 4 horse-artillery guns, 100 of 17th Lancers, and 150 of 92nd Highlanders mounted on camels. At 11.30 on the night of the 30th December, the Brigadier marched for the village of Surthul, in pursuit of the enemy, and, at daybreak, overtook three bodies of cavalry, estimated at about 3,000, drawn up to receive him just beyond a village called Tancha, about ten miles from Surthul. The guns first opened fire and broke the enemy, who were pursued by the cavalry and camel corps a distance of about twelve miles. General Michel, in reporting this affair to headquarters, states that the column marched one hundred and seventy miles in six days, and Brigadier Somerset adds that, in the thirty hours between midnight of the 30th December, and 6 A.M. on the 1st January of 1859, they had marched fifty miles, "during which time they had not rested more than two hours at one time, having made forced marches for five days without tents or European supplies." Of the services of Lieutenant Wood he says:—"I am particularly indebted for his zealous and unceasing exertions on every

occasion in the various duties imposed upon him in the absence of any other Staff-officer."

When the Government directed the celebrated cavalry leader, Colonel W. F. Beatson, to raise two regiments of horse, the late Major H. O. Mayne raised one corps, and Lieutenant Wood the other, and the regiments were known as Beatson's Horse. On the departure of Colonel Beatson for Europe, their designation was altered, and they were placed on the same footing as other corps of irregular cavalry, and are now officially known as the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Central India Horse.

In December 1859, while engaged in the wild country about Seronge, hunting down rebels, Lieutenant Wood performed an act of gallantry for which, and for his bravery in action at Sindwaho, he received the Victoria Cross. The following is the order, under date 4th September 1860, conferring this much-coveted distinction: "Lieutenant H. E. Wood, 17th Lancers, for having on the 19th October, 1858, during action at Sindwaho, when in command of a troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry, attacked, with much gallantry, almost single-handed, a body of rebels who had made a stand, whom he routed; and also for having, subsequently, near Sindhora, gallantly advanced with a Duffadar and some of Beatson's Horse, and rescued from a band of robbers a potail,* Chemmum Singh, whom they had captured and carried off to the jungles, where they intended to hang him."

On the 16th April, 1861, he purchased a captaincy in the 73rd Regiment, and was promoted brevet major on the following 19th August, in recognition of his services during the Mutiny. Now that he could not employ his superabundant energies in the arena a soldier prefers, Major Wood was not the man to lose an opportunity for improving his technical knowledge of his profession. On his return to England, he accordingly joined the Staff College, out of which he passed with credit in December 1864. In the following year he was transferred to the 17th Regiment, and, on the 22nd June, 1870, purchased a majority in the 90th Regiment, a corps which has the good fortune of having had on its rolls, within the last twenty years, many good soldiers, including Colonel Campbell and Major Barnston, who died of wounds at Lucknow, and no less than three of the leaders in the late Zulu War, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Major-General Crealock, and Brigadier-General Wood.

Successful in the rough school presided over by the God Mars, Major Wood was not less fortunate in a gentler arena, and married on the 19th September, 1867, the Hon. Mary Paulina

* A potail, or putel, is the head man of a village.

Southwell, sister of Thomas Arthur Joseph, fourth Viscount Southwell, K.P., and third daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Arthur Francis Southwell (third son of the second Viscount), by his marriage with Mary Anne Agnes, daughter of the late Thomas Dillon, Esq., of Mount Dillon, county Dublin. This lady was raised to the rank of a viscount's daughter in 1860, on the accession of her brother to the peerage, in succession to his uncle. In the year following his marriage, Major Wood's uncle, Lord Hatherley, formerly Vice-Chancellor Sir William Page Wood, was nominated Lord Chancellor in Mr. Gladstone's Government, and, on the 8th December of the same year, was raised to the peerage as Baron Hatherley. As Lord Hatherley is childless, it would be a graceful act on the part of the Government if, in recognition of his many services in the Crimea, India, and South Africa, they would grant him a reversion of his uncle's peerage, a course that was followed in the case of Lord Brougham.

• In order to acquire a knowledge of law, Major Wood entered the Middle Temple as a student in April, 1870, and read with Major Blake of the Royal Marines. In Easter term 1874 he was called to the Bar by that ancient society; so that to his other acquirements he has added those of a barrister-at-law. The subject of this memoir was soon to exercise in an important sphere the experience he had acquired in the field, and the knowledge he had gained in the closet, and he proved that he possessed in no small degree the military qualifications that go to the formation of a successful general.

On the 19th January 1873, he received the rank of brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, and when Sir Garnet Wolseley undertook the conduct of military affairs against King Koffee of Ashantee, Colonel Wood volunteered for service as a special service officer. On the 12th September 1873, he sailed with Sir Garnet Wolseley from Liverpool in the steamer *Ambriz*, which arrived on the 2nd October at Cape Coast, whence Colonel Wood and the officer detailed to serve under his orders, proceeded in a steam pinnace to Elmina. His first duty was to prepare a scheme for the defence of this place, and thence under instructions from Sir Garnet, he sent letters to the chiefs of Ampence, Essaman, and Amquana, summoning them to Elmina, to which they returned insulting answers. In order to convince these chiefs of British superiority, by striking a first blow, and to check the supply by them of provisions to the camp of Amanquatia, the Ashantee commander-in-chief, at Mampon, Sir Garnet Wolseley decided to attack their villages. Accordingly, on the

13th October he proceeded to Elmina, and marched thence with a small force, of which the only Europeans were 150 marines and 20 seamen, the command of the column being committed to Colonel Wood. The expedition was completely successful. The enemy was attacked and defeated at Essaman; Amquana, Akimfoo, and Ampenee were taken and burnt, and the column returned to Elmina, which they reached at 8 P.M., having traversed a distance of twenty-one miles, in a dense jungle, under a tropical sun.

Colonel Wood raised a regiment of natives, which was named after him, and when, on the 25th October, the Ashantees broke up their camp at Mampon, and retreated towards the Prah, he was directed to harass the retreating columns of the enemy with his native levies—"to hang on his rear and attack him without ceasing." Colonel Wood commanded first at Beulah, then at Dunquah, and then at Acroofoomu, and, on the 23rd November, took command of the advanced guard. On the 26th November he occupied Sutih, and, on the following day, proceeded on a reconnaissance with a small column of native troops to Faysowah, where he engaged the enemy for two hours. His native levies, however, proved unreliable; the Houssas being seized with panic, bolted and caused much confusion, the Kossoos and the Elmina company of Wood's Regiment also fled, notwithstanding the efforts of the commander and his officers, including Lieutenants Eyre, Gordon, Woodgate, and others. Though Colonel Wood and nearly all his officers were suffering from illness at this time, they nevertheless made a march of twenty miles, four of which were through water, and were fourteen hours without food. Such was the devotion to duty of the officers of the British force, inspired by the example of their leader.

The reconnaissance had the desired effect, however, for as soon as the Ashantees gave up the pursuit, they retired precipitately till they reached the banks of the Prah, which they crossed in haste; this affair was the last brush with the Ashantees south of that river. The first phase of the war was now over, and that without any European troops, beyond the seamen and marines of the Naval Brigade; and Sir Garnet Wolseley, in bringing the services of his hard-worked band of officers to the notice of the Home Government, made special mention of Colonel Wood, who had not only raised and disciplined a regiment of 413 natives, but had held an important command throughout the operations, wherein he had "displayed both zeal and ability in the discharge of his duties." The British forces

were now advanced towards the Prah, and, between the 9th and 17th December, the European troops—2nd battalion Rifle Brigade, 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and 42nd Highlanders—with a considerable number of special service officers, arrived from England.

The first to cross the Prah for the invasion of Ashantee, on the 5th January, was Major Baker Russell with his regiment of irregulars, and, on the 15th, Colonel Wood marched to Essiaman, twelve miles north of that river, with his own regiment, Captain Rait's artillery, and a detachment of the 2nd West Indian Regiment, and soon joined the advance guard, which was placed under the command of Colonel McLeod, 42nd Highlanders. On the 26th January, Colonel McLeod, whose column was at Dompoassie, about three miles from Fomannah, made a reconnaissance with a portion of his force to Adubiassie, in order to clear out straggling parties of the enemy from the bush to the left, while Colonel Wood, acting in concert with the remainder, proceeded along the main road to Kiang Boassu which he occupied. Three days later Colonel McLeod made a second reconnaissance towards Borborassie, Colonel Wood acting in support on the Becquah road, with 220 men of his regiment and the scouts, under Lord Gifford. The advance guard, consisting of Wood's and Russell's regiments only, advanced to Quarman, and supplied guards to the engineers, who were employed cutting a road up to within 100 yards of the village of Egginassie, behind which and at Amoaful the enemy were concentrated.

On the 31st January was fought the decisive action of Amoaful, in which Colonel Wood commanded a column on the right flank of the British force, consisting of two companies of his own regiment of natives (the remainder having been left in the rear to garrison posts on the road), under Captain Furse, 42nd Highlanders, a portion of the Naval Brigade, under Commander Luxmoore, R.N., and a detachment of the Royal Engineers, under Lieutenant Bell. Colonel Wood advanced with the Naval Brigade from Egginassie, which formed the centre of the position, a distance of 200 yards, and commenced cutting a path in a north-easterly direction, but the Ashantee fire from north and south was so heavy that he was unable to advance, upon which he cut a clearing, and his men lay down and engaged in a musketry duel with the enemy. At this time the firing from all sides was very heavy, and the enemy penetrated into the bush between the village and Colonel Wood's position; but when at 12.20, the advance column, consisting of the 42nd Highlanders and Rait's artillery, under Sir Archibald Alison,

carried the village of Amoafu, the enemy gave way at all points. Before this was effected, however, Colonel Wood received a wound which incapacitated him for duty for a few days, a slug having struck him on a rib above the heart as he stood up among his men throughout the conflict, affording a prominent target to the Ashantee marksmen.

On the 3rd February he returned to duty, and commanded the Opobo company of his regiment, which accompanied the advance guard of the force in its march on the following day to attack the village of Ordahsu. In this action Lieutenant Eyre, of the Opobo company, was mortally wounded, but the men were so unsteady under fire, and wasteful of their ammunition, that, with Russell's Regiment, they were posted in rear of the village. The fire here was very heavy, and Sir Garnet Wolseley was wounded, while his staff had to use their revolvers. Nothing could withstand the impetuous rush of the Highlanders, under Colonel McLeod, and, pushing through the village, they drove the enemy before them with scarcely a halt until Coomassic was gained. This was the last action of the Ashantee War, and the return march to Cape Coast was uneventful.

For his services, Colonel Wood, who was repeatedly mentioned in despatches, received the C.B. and brevet rank of Colonel.

On his return from the Gold Coast he was appointed, on the 8th September, 1874, Superintending Officer of Garrison Instruction at Aldershot, and, on the 23rd March, 1876, he became Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General at the camp, which appointment, however, he relinquished in order to accompany his regiment, which was ordered on active service against the Gaikas, Galekas, and other tribes in South Africa. The 90th sailed, in December 1877, under the command of Colonel Palmer, the strength, 900 of all ranks, being made up by 250 volunteers from other regiments. On the 20th February it proceeded to Fort Beaufort, to operate against Tini Macomo, who had joined the revolt. The commanding general, Sir Arthur Cunningham, G.C.B., availed himself of the great experience of Colonel Wood, by placing him in command of a column which was engaged in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the 23rd April a body of 600 Kaffirs attacked his small force near Burn's Hill, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty-four men. Matters looking threatening in Pondoland, he soon afterwards proceeded to Yokstad. The Transkei campaign had now come to an end, and, on the 1st August, Lord Chelmsford, who had been in command of the

forces in the field since the preceding February, proceeded to Natal, with all the available troops.

On the conclusion of the campaign his lordship placed on record his estimate of the services of Colonel Wood in the following terms :

"Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., C.B., 90th Light Infantry, on special service in South Africa, has had command of a separate column of Imperial and Colonial troops from the time that I had assumed the direction of military operations in the field. I cannot speak too highly of the good service rendered by this officer. He has exercised his command with marked ability and great tact. I am of opinion that his indefatigable exertions and personal influence have been mainly instrumental in bringing the war to a speedy close."

In the plan of operations settled by Lord Chelmsford for the invasion of Zululand, Colonel Wood was placed in command of No. 4 Column,* having a total strength of 2,278 officers and men.

Colonel Wood proceeded to Bembas Kop, about thirty-three miles from Rorke's Drift, where he halted between the 6th and 10th, when, under instructions from Lord Chelmsford, he marched a distance of twelve miles towards headquarters. Hearing that a strong Zulu force was reported to be marching to attack Lord Chelmsford as soon as he had crossed the Buffalo River, he moved a portion of his column to his support, and, accompanied by the Frontier Light Horse, under command of Colonel Buller and some natives, rode to meet the General at a preconcerted rendezvous, in the direction of the Itelezi Hill. The General having received from Colonel Wood, assurances regarding the satisfactory state of his column as regards the transport and commissariat arrangements—the efficient condition of which he writes, "I attribute to Colonel Wood's energy and military knowledge"—they parted company, each returning to his camp.

Many days of inaction ensued, as No. 3 Column, like that under Lord Chelmsford, was engaged in making a road into the country, but, on the 22nd January occurred the disaster of

* The following was the strength of No. 4 Column. Staff—Orderly Officer, Lieutenant Lysons, 90th Foot; Principal Staff Officer, Captain Hon. R. Campbell, Coldstream Guards; General Staff Officer, Captain Woodgate, 4th Foot; Transport Officer, Captain Vaughan, Royal Artillery; Senior Commissariat Officer, Commissary Hughes; Commissary of Ordnance, Assistant Commissary Phillimore; Sub-District Paymaster, Paymaster MacDonald; Senior Medical Officer, Surgeon-Major Cuffe. Corps—Royal Artillery, six 7-pounders, Major Tremlett, R.A.; 1st battalion 13th Foot, Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert; 90th Foot, Major Rogers, V.C.; Frontier Light Horse, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, C.B., 60th Rifles; Wood's Irregulars, Commandant Henderson.

Isandlana, which fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and awoke not only the troops and their commanders, but the colonists and England itself, from the fool's paradise in which they were slumbering. If those in authority in South Africa undertook, with a light heart, the invasion of Zululand, with a column of some 5,000 regular troops and a large body of "odds and ends," there was one chafing at his enforced inactivity in Cyprus who gauged the magnitude of the task and the inadequacy of the means employed. On that disastrous 22nd January the old mistake was made of underrating the enemy, who showed great strategic skill in profiting by the division of an already weak column; but though Lord Chelmsford was to blame for this and for not intrenching his camp before quitting it on the preceding day, he cannot be held responsible for the faulty tactics of the officers left in command of the camp. Some points in this sad affair must ever remain a mystery, but it would appear from recent statements made by Zulu chiefs, who were present at Isandlana, that their main attack was beaten and falling back, when, perceiving a slackening of the British fire, owing to a failure of the supply of ammunition, they returned to the attack and carried all before them. As the Zulu warrior added with classic simplicity:—"Your soldiers died fighting, and what more could men do?"

The first to apprise Colonel Wood of the disaster was Captain Alan Gardner, of the 14th Hussars, who had accompanied Lord Chelmsford during his reconnaissance of the morning, and had been sent by his lordship to direct Colonel Pulleine to intrench the camp at Isandlana, but only arrived in time to witness the overthrow of our troops. This gallant officer, to whom great credit is due, first rode to Rorke's Drift, and, having warned the garrison of the imminence of a Zulu attack, like "Sir William of Deloraine, good at need," galloped off, without taking rest, to Colonel Wood's camp.

"Mount thee on the wightest steed;
Spare not to spur, nor stint to ride."

And so he reached Colonel Wood, whom he put on his guard. The immediate result of the defeat of the 22nd January, was the suspension of all offensive movements by Colonel Wood, who, under instructions from Lord Chelmsford, retired to cover Utrecht, taking up, and strongly intrenching, a position at Kambula Kop, about twenty miles from the Blood River, which commands an extensive view of the country around, and is on the watershed dividing the rivers which fall into Delagoa Bay

from those having a more southerly course into Zululand. No better position could have been taken up for dominating the surrounding country, as Kambula Kop not only covers Utrecht and the Transvaal, but commands three lines of road, viz.: those leading *via* Derby to Pretoria or Swaziland, that entering Natal by Rorke's Drift, and the main road from Utrecht to Zululand, by which Colonel Wood originally advanced.

Such a man as the commander of No. 4 Column was not likely to remain idle; and had he been inclined to be supine, fiery soldiers like Colonel Buller and Mr. Piet-Uys, commanding the Boer contingent, would have roused him to exertion. The cavalry of Colonel Wood's force being reinforced by the remnants of the troops of horse * left in Colonel Glyn's Column, attacks were made on the kraals of Zulu chiefs, which were burnt, and large numbers of oxen captured; and the activity displayed by these officers in harassing the enemy, whom they astonished by attacking at distances from the camp, which they regarded as preventing the possibility of a hostile visit, aroused feelings of rage in the Zulu king, who, at length, made a desperate attempt to annihilate No. 4 Column. Wood's forays were generally successful, including one on the 24th January, to the lower slopes of the Zlobani (also called the Inhlobana) Mountain, the stronghold of a noted chief, Umbelini by name, and another early in February, when Colonel Wood, with Piet-Uys, ascended the western point of the mountain and captured 400 cattle, though he was glad to regain the plains, as the Zulus were collecting in thousands to cut him off. The Zulus afterwards fortified the Zlobani, with stone walls and other works, which, in addition to the caves, terraces, huge boulders, fissures, and other natural advantages, rendered it a formidable stronghold. On the 16th February, Colonel Buller returned to camp, having cleared the whole of the Intombi Valley, into which Manyoba and his people had retired after raiding across the border. One expedition, however, conducted by this gallant and skilful officer, was not equally fortunate. Colonel

* At this time Colonel Wood had under his orders the greater portion of the mounted corps specially raised for service in South Africa. The Frontier Light Horse was originally raised by Major Carrington, 24th Regiment, for service during the Transkei campaign. As it was in imperial pay, it was subsequently ordered to the Transvaal, under its leader, Colonel Buller. The Mounted Infantry was recruited from the British regiments serving in South Africa. The Kaffrarian Rifles, originally infantry, were raised by Commandant Schermbrücker, but Colonel Wood mounted them. Then there were the Mounted Burghers, commanded by Piet-Uys; also Raaf's Corps, under Captain Raaf, and Weatherley's Corps of Border Horse, lead by that gallant officer, both of which were raised for service against Seecocoeni, but were directed to join the army invading Zululand.

Rowlands, V.C., commanding a small column in the Transvaal, having made an unsuccessful attack upon a position on the Telahu Mountain, in March, a second attempt was undertaken by that officer, in conjunction with Colonel Buller; but they had to retire in consequence of the tenacity with which Umbelini clung to his stronghold.

On the 12th March, Oham, a brother of Cetewayo, and a chief having a considerable following, surrendered, with 600 of his men, to Colonel Wood, who, at his request, determined to escort to his camp that chief's wives and family. Taking with him 260 mounted men, under Colonel Buller, and the Burghers, under Piet-Uys, he proceeded, on the 14th March, to some caves near Uhlangwine, forty-five miles from camp, where he found and collected the motley following. He arrived here at 9.30 P.M., started on his return at nine the following morning, and reached camp at 1 P.M., on the 16th, having accomplished, with perfect success, an anxious task, for he was liable at any moment to be attacked on the march by a Zulu "impi," when he would have had a hard task to defend such a mob of helpless beings.

When Lord Chelmsford advanced to relieve Ekowe, on the 29th March, he directed Colonel Wood to make a diversion so as to draw off a portion of the main Zulu army, which he understood was lying in wait to drive him back. Accordingly Colonel Wood determined to make a reconnaissance, in force against the Zlobani Mountain, on the summit of which the Zulus, after their defeat on the lower slopes on the 24th January, had taken up a strong position. This mountain is described as "two plateaux varying in width from one to three miles. These run east and west for five miles, the westernmost being the lower and connected with the other by a neck. From this neck the ground rises for 150 feet in precipitous rock, on the summit of which is a stone wall as an extra defence to a position of already great natural strength. The eastern plateau forms an irregular rectangle, the sides of which are indented by numerous kloofs, its length being about three miles. The ascent of the western ridge, although steep and rugged, is comparatively easy, and the summit is level for about a mile and a half before the neck is reached."

Colonel Wood divided his force into two columns,—one, to make a feigned attack on the mountain from the western side, under Colonel Cecil Russell, of the 12th Lancers, consisting of about 250 mounted men, the 1st battalion of Wood's Irregulars, under Commandant Loraine White, about 150 of Oham's men,

and a mounted rocket detachment of Royal Artillery; and the second column,—commanded by Colonel Buller, comprising 400 mounted men, including the Boer contingent, under the gallant Piet-Uys, the 2nd battalion of Wood's Irregulars, under Commandant Roberts (and Major Leet, of the 13th Light Infantry, who commanded both battalions) and a mounted rocket detachment of the Royal Artillery—which was to attack and clear the eastern plateau. The two columns left camp on the 27th March, and, that night, Colonel Russell bivouacked about five miles west of the Zlobani Mountain, his instructions requiring him to be in position on the neck early on the following morning; the eastern attacking force, under Colonel Buller, on the same night bivouacked ten miles east of Colonel Russell.

Colonel Wood, during the day, quitted the camp at Kambula Hill, with an escort of eight men of the 90th Light Infantry, and seven natives, and the following officers: Captain Hon. Ronald Campbell, Coldstream Guards, Staff Officer; Lieutenant Lysons, 90th Regiment, Orderly Officer; and Mr. Lloyd, Political Assistant. The party reached Colonel Russell's bivouac at dusk, and soon after three on the morning of the 28th, rode on to join Colonel Buller's force. Towards daybreak they met Colonel Weatherley (formerly a Captain of the 6th Dragoons) and fifty men of his troop of Border Horse, who had lost their way during the night. Colonel Wood ordered them to move in the direction of the sound of the firing, which was heard on the north-western side of the mountain, and, following Colonel Weatherley, soon came on the track on the mountain side of Colonel Buller's detachment, the dead and wounded horses proving that his advance had been opposed. The path along which Colonel Wood and his party were ascending the slopes, is described as passing "through masses of rock and over huge boulders, among which goats, much less horses, could scarcely be expected to pass."

Colonel Wood, with his staff and escort, pushed on more rapidly than most of the Border Horse, but, losing the track when within a hundred yards of the summit, suddenly found himself confronted by the enemy, who, concealed behind boulders and rocks, opened fire from both flanks. Almost instantly Mr. Lloyd fell mortally wounded by the side of Colonel Wood, whose horse was killed, falling on him. As Colonel Weatherley had arrived with some of his men, Evelyn Wood directed him to dislodge the few Zulus causing this loss, but the troopers showed a disinclination to court what was almost certain death. Seeing this, Captain Campbell, who had returned

from carrying Mr. Lloyd on to a lower ledge of rock (where he expired in a few minutes), with Lieutenant Lysons and three men of the 90th, jumped over a low wall and ran forward to drive the enemy out of a cave whence they kept up a fire. In a moment Captain Campbell, who was in advance, was shot through the head and expired on the spot; but his death was avenged, for Lieutenant Lysons—who showed himself worthy his gallant sire, Sir Daniel Lysons, the Quartermaster-General—and Private Fowler fired together, killing one Zulu and dislodging another. Colonel Weatherley now moved down the hill, and, regaining Buller's track, soon reached the summit of the mountain. With great difficulty the bodies of the two officers were brought about half-way down the hill, where they were buried in a grave dug with hatchets and sword-bayonets. Colonel Wood himself read a portion of the burial service over these gallant officers, the shots of the enemy forming a fitting requiem, and so they were left to their rest on that barren mountain side, far away from home and kindred.

Evelyn Wood, being anxious to know what progress Colonel Russell had made to the westward, rode slowly round under the southern slopes of the Zlobani Mountain with his escort, and a herd of goats and sheep driven by the natives. Thus he proceeded some few miles, unsuspecting of danger—as he says, “unconscious of the fact that a very large Zulu force was moving on our left across our front”—though, as on the previous day, he had written informing Lord Chelmsford that he heard all Cetewayo's army, with the exception of the local tribes about Ekowe, were about to advance against Kambula, it is somewhat singular that he had not taken precaution to guard against a surprise. However, it is the only occasion on which the gallant officer has displayed a want of caution, and Napoleon's dictum, that “he is the greatest general who makes the fewest mistakes,” denotes that the greatest of all soldiers did not claim for any of his cloth an immunity from the error which is inseparable from human agency.

Colonel Wood had advanced about half-way under the centre of the mountain, when Umtonga, one of the sons of Panda, who commanded the natives of his escort, reported the proximity of a large Zulu army. Quickly proceeding to an adjacent hill, he directed his gaze in the direction indicated, and there saw a sight which would have unnerved many a less gallant and experienced commander. Bred to arms from his youth, and one who had faced the deadliest Russian fire on the glacies of the

Redan on that memorable 18th June, 1855, a momentary chill must have struck his heart as he recognised the imminence of the danger that menaced the existence of the small body of horsemen who had followed his lead so gaily that morning, but of whom many were never to see the sun set. He saw at his feet a large Zulu army, as he says, "marching in five columns, with horns and dense chest, the normal Zulu attack formation."

Instantly putting spurs to his horse to avoid being cut off, he despatched Lieutenant Lysons with the following written order to Colonel Russell: "10.30 A.M. 28th March, 1879—Colonel Russell, there is a large army coming this way from the south. Get into position on the Zunguin's neck." But Russell had some time previously detected the advance of the Zulu "impi," apparently with the object of cutting off the line of retreat from the Zlobani Mountain, and sent a messenger to apprise Colonel Buller of the fact. After waiting nearly two hours, he still could see nothing of the movements of that officer, and considering that he could only return by the way he had advanced, retired to the foot of the mountain, where he received Colonel Wood's order to proceed to the Zunguin neck. Misapprehending the position of this neck, which is at the eastern corner of the range,* Colonel Russell, after ordering Oham's men to abandon the captured cattle they were driving, rode in a contrary direction six miles to the western end of the range. The result of this error was that the retreat of Oham's men, who, as well as the first battalion of Wood's Irregulars, were moving on the neck, was uncovered, and the Zulus on the mountain moved down upon them rapidly and killed most of them, when the remainder dispersed. Meantime Colonel Buller, who had gained the top of the Zlobani, after some fighting, in which he lost a few men and officers, including Lieutenant Williams (58th Regiment, Staff-Officer to Major Lect, commanding the Irregulars) and Baron von Stentercron, disposed his men on the heights above the kloofs,† and sent the natives to collect the cattle. This occupied some time, owing to the great extent of ground and the opposition met from the enemy, but, on its completion, he was proceeding with a party to find and bury the

* The *Times* correspondent, in his lucid account of the day's fighting, to which and Colonel Wood's despatch we are indebted for these materials, appears, as it seems to us, also to have fallen into the same error, and, referring to the above-mentioned order, describes the Zunguin neck as "a mountain five miles west of the Zlobani Mountain."

† Kloofs are wooded clefts or valleys in the mountain side.

body of Lieutenant Williams, when the Zulu army was seen on the march, and, at the same time, a message arrived from Colonel Russell warning him of its approach.

Buller's position was now critical, for he could not return by the path he had followed in the morning, without exposing his force to destruction, while a retreat in the other direction was almost equally impossible, as Major Leet, who had been ordered to descend with his natives by the precipitous paths leading from the eastern to the western plateau, declared it "utterly impracticable for even led horses." But there was no choice, for the Zulus were pouring out of their kloofs on the mountain, and boldly advanced along the plateau, so Colonel Buller commenced the descent, and, says Colonel Wood, "was enabled by his great personal exertions and heroic conduct, not only to bring away all his men who had lost their horses, but also all his wounded who could make an effort to sit on their horses." The retreat now became a rout. "There appears," says one present, "to have been wanting the discipline of regular troops. Helter-skelter came every one to the narrow opening of the path. Volunteers of different corps, disregarding all orders except those from their immediate officers, men of the Boer contingent, deaf to the commands of their gallant leader, men and horses struggling among the rocks, soon rendered the narrow path more intricate than ever. Horses fell headlong down, carrying with them men, some of whom were assegaied by the enemy, who now appeared in swarms. Major Leet's horse was shot under him after mounting at the foot of the path. Captain Darcy had succeeded in rallying his men at the top of the mountain, and drove back the enemy for some moments. Captain Raaf, who throughout the day displayed the greatest courage, now rendered valuable service to Colonel Buller in covering the retreat, which threatened to end in a general massacre. Piet-Uys still remained above, but, at the earnest request of Colonel Buller, descended the path. Hearing that his son was in difficulties with his horse, the father again began to retrace his steps, but fell assegaied in the attempt. Colonel Buller was one of the last to pass down the rocks, and all those who were there declare that but for his courage, coolness, and personal influence over the men, a most terrible disaster must have befallen his force." Once down that precipitous path, the worst was over, though the enemy continued the pursuit and assegaied stragglers and some who had lost their horses.

Colonel Wood stood on the Zunguin neck with his escort and

watched the scene, and soon the wearied fugitives commenced the ascent of the rocky path, many on foot having lost their horses, and others carrying wounded comrades behind them. Colonel Wood sent an order to Russell, who was then ascending the western end of the range, to proceed eastward and cover the movement of the natives into camp, which he did. The retreat to camp was now continued by the wearied and dispirited troops, and Kambula was reached at 7 P.M. On arriving here the gallant Buller, hearing that a party of fugitives were on foot some miles distant, started in heavy rain and brought in seven men.

The losses throughout the day had been heavy, and numbered ninety killed, including thirteen officers, and thirty wounded. Of the Border Horse, numbering fifty sabres, forty-five had been killed, including Colonel Weatherley and his son, a boy of fourteen, whom the father, when last seen, was making frantic efforts to bear off on his horse from amid a throng of howling Zulu warriors. The Frontier Light Horse was also almost destroyed, Captain Barton, of the Coldstream Guards, a gallant and popular officer, and Lieutenant Pool, being among the slain. But the greatest loss experienced on this disastrous day was in the death of Mr. Piet-Uys, the Boer leader, who, though disapproving the annexation of the Transval, had cast in his lot with the British against the common enemy, whom he and his family had but too good grounds for detesting with the hatred Hannibal bore for the Romans.

As might be expected of English gentlemen, this day witnessed many deeds of gallantry and devotion. Captain Barton, when last seen, was carrying a wounded man on his horse; Major Leet also took up a wounded officer, and Commandant D'Arcy* displayed equal devotion. Lieutenant Duncombe, of Wood's Irregulars, disregarding Leet's entreaties that he would hold on to his horse, covered his commander's retreat down the precipitous mountain side, and shot three Zulus before he fell beneath the merciless assegai. Of Buller, Campbell, and others we have already spoken, and Piet-Uys sacrificed his life to a sense of duty, relying, in his last moments, on the assurance given that day by Colonel Wood, that the Government for which he died would watch over the interests of his children.

The Zulu army, which had left Ulundi on the 24th of March, to attack the British camp at Kambula Kop, were, as might

* Both Major Leet and Commandant D'Arcy have since been awarded the Victoria Cross.

be expected, not slow in following up their advantage, and, flushed with success, promised themselves an easy victory. Colonel Wood received information that he would be attacked, and the troops, before daybreak on the 29th, took up their assigned positions for defending the camp and a neighbouring redoubt, armed with two guns, and held by three companies under Major Leet of the 13th Light Infantry. As there were no signs of the enemy, the troops were dismissed as day dawned, and the cattle were as usual turned out to graze. Early in the forenoon, however, Captain Raaf, who was reconnoitring, fell in with one of Oham's men, who had marched with the Zulu army and managed to make his escape; this man reported that an attack would be made almost immediately, and that the "inpi" was commanded by Mayana and Tyingwayo. And so it appeared, for, at 11 A.M., dense masses of Zulus, estimated at about 23,000 men, were seen approaching. The cattle were quickly laagered, the tents struck, and all preparations to meet the attack soon completed, and then our soldiers, having dined, fell into their places, confident in their leader and their own ability to give a good account of the enemy.

Cetwayo has acknowledged, since his capture, that the attack on Kambula was the only one of the actions of this brief but sanguinary war, that was undertaken by his express orders. Isandlana was a surprise, and Ulundi was fought against his wishes by the fiercer spirits of his army. But for Kambula he was responsible; he planned it, and before the army quitted his kraal drew up the order of battle, and gave to each regiment its position in the attack. Moreover, he never doubted of success, and in the words Achilles addressed to his myrmidons, he told his warriors to "wash their spears" in the gore of the white man:—

"Bathe your swords in gore!

This day shall give you all your soul demands;
Glut all your hearts! and weary all your hands!
Thus while he rous'd the fire in every breast,
Close, and more close, the listening cohorts prest;
Ranks wedged in ranks, of arms a steely ring."

But Evelyn Wood, with his band of disciplined soldiers, was, on his part, not less eager to encounter the dusky warriors, who clustered in a ring of iron round the entrenchments of the hill of Kambula. The fiery young leader, with his love of war and longing to win military distinction, felt with that heroic English

monarch, on the eve of a great victory, who, when one of his officers exclaimed:—

“Oh, that we had here
But one ten thousand of those men in England
That do no work to-day,”

replied:—

“If we are marked to die, we are enough
To do our country loss; and if we live,
The fewer men, the greater share of honour,
God’s will! I pray thee, wish not one man more.”

At 1.30 P.M. the mounted men, under Colonels Buller and Russell, commenced the action by attacking the head of the right horn of the Zulu army. After a spirited contest, being unable to check their advance, they retired into the laager, followed by the Zulus to within 300 yards of the entrenchment, where they were met by the fire of the 13th Regiment, and retired. The artillery now opened fire. Of the six 7-pounders of Major Tremlett’s battery, two guns, under Lieutenant Nicolson, were posted in a redoubt to the north-east of the camp, the remaining four being in position on the ridge sloping from this fort to the camp, under Major Tremlett and his two subalterns, Lieutenants Bigge and Slade. Thus the enemy was exposed to a cross fire, which was kept up throughout the engagement. The four guns which remained in the open were exposed to a heavy musketry fire, and the two in battery sustained a severe loss in Lieutenant Nicolson, who was shot through the body and died on the following day.

To the south-east of the camp was a cattle laager, held by Captain Cox’s company, of the 13th, which, being exposed to the heaviest attacks of the enemy, was at length withdrawn, that officer being himself severely wounded in the leg. Colonel Wood now ordered two companies of the 90th, under Major Hackett, to advance over the ridge against this cattle laager, which was now occupied by the enemy. This gallant officer, one of four brothers in the army, of whom the eldest gained the V.C. before Lucknow, advanced over the ridge with the imperturbable *sang froid* of his family. “I watched Major Hackett,” writes a correspondent, “leading his men, with his pipe in his mouth, as cool and collected as man could be; he gallantly advanced over the ridge, when his men lay down and opened fire on the Zulus who were now under the waggons of the cattle laager.” But the fire of the enemy was so severe that Major Hackett was ordered to retire, though this could not be

effected before he himself was shot through the head, losing the sight of both eyes, and Sub-Lieutenant Bright, an accomplished young officer, fell mortally wounded, a bullet having passed through both his legs.

About 5.30 the enemy's attack slackened, when Colonel Wood ordered out Captain Waddy's company of the 13th, to the right rear of the camp, and Captain Laye's company of the 90th, to the right front of the cattle laager, which the enemy had now abandoned, and they did severe execution on the retreating Zulus, assisted by the guns, which were run down the slopes by hand. The enemy made one final effort against the right rear, and then retreated precipitately in all directions. Now had come the time for the horsemen of the column, and, led by the gallant Buller, they poured out of the laager and pursued the now beaten and fleeing foe, before whose assegais they had fled only thirty-six hours before. No words of encouragement did those horsemen need, and hundreds of bodies marked the line of pursuit, extending over a distance of seven miles, for the sword of the white man on that day was as remorseless as the assegai of the Zulu.

The British loss in achieving this great success, was 2 officers and 25 men killed, and 4 officers and 63 men wounded. Seven hundred Zulu dead were buried within half a mile of the camp, and Colonel Wood inflicted on King Cetewayo the heaviest defeat he has as yet sustained, amply retrieving the reverse of the 28th March.

For his services Colonel Wood was created a Brigadier-General and received a "distinguished service" pension. His brigade, which numbered 3,902 of all arms, including natives, was transformed into a Flying Column when the advance into Zululand commenced, and formed the van of the army under Lord Chelmsford, who retrieved his laurels by his victory at Ulundi on the 4th July—an anniversary memorable among our descendants in the United States as "Independence Day," and which will be scarcely less of an epoch among our fellow-subjects in South Africa as the day on which the power of their most formidable antagonist was broken, while the British army will remember it as the anniversary on which the disaster of Isandlana was retrieved, and the invincibility of our arms established.

At the battle of Ulundi the Flying Column and its commander maintained their high reputation, but a detailed account of the action is unnecessary here, as Lord Chelmsford was in supreme command. On the 9th of July Lord Chelmsford fell back from Ulundi on Kamagwasa, with the 2nd Division (General

E. Newdigate's) and the Flying Column under Evelyn Wood, who—there being no prospect of further fighting—sailed for England in the same ship with Lord Chelmsford and his friend Colonel Buller, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 26th August.

Colonel Wood, who had been gazetted a K.C.B. for his distinguished services, was invested with the insignia of the Bath by her Majesty at Balmoral. He now had to go through the course of fêting and feasting, which is the usual concomitant of a military success in our days, and displayed, in his after-dinner speeches, an eloquence which astonished his audiences, and showed that in adopting the sword of the soldier instead of the toga of the lawyer, the loss sustained by the legal profession was no less than the gain which accrued to the army. This was more particularly observable in his speech at the banquet given in his honour by the Bar of England in the Middle Temple, on the 1st November; while his address at the Fishmongers' Hall, on the 30th of September, was devoted to an eloquent panegyric on those gallant soldiers of all ranks who fought under his orders, some of whom died on the field of honour—for, as he well remarked, in reference to the observations of some writers, honour and glory were to be found in the path of duty, combating the enemies of England, whether they were a horde of savage warriors, or the disciplined armies of an European power. Recently Sir Evelyn Wood has been appointed to the command of the Chatham district, with the temporary rank of Brigadier-General, but, doubtless, should the occasion arise,—and we never know from day to day when such may be the case in our widely-extended empire—his services will be called into requisition in a more active sphere. In such an event his countrymen, who have formed a high opinion of his military capacity, will watch with interest the future career of Sir Evelyn Wood.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR VINCENT EYRE C.B., K.C.S.I.

PART I.

Appointment to the Bengal Artillery—Proceeds to Afghanistan—The outbreak of the 2nd November, 1841—The British Force besieged in the Cabul Cantonment—Eyre is wounded—Retreat of the British Army through the Passes—Eyre is surrendered as a Hostage to Akbar Khan—Imprisonment with the Afghans—Release and return to India.

SIR VINCENT EYRE passed his Indian career in that distinguished corps, the late Bengal Artillery, than which, it is scarcely too much to say, no corps in the British army has produced a greater number of distinguished men. Horsford, Pollock, Henry Lawrence, and Roberts—"the hero of the second Afghan war," as Lord Lytton has called the victor at Peiwar Kotal and Cabul—are only a few among the doughty soldiers who acquired their experience of war in the Bengal Artillery.

Sir Vincent Eyre was born on the 22nd January, 1811, and is a scion of the Eyres of the Peak, an old Derbyshire family, who distinguished themselves for their loyalty to Charles I. during the war so disastrous to the fortunes of that ill-fated monarch. Colonel Eyre, his ancestor, commanded a body of horse at Marston Moor, and family documents record that this bold cavalier encountered the redoubtable Lord Protector himself, in single combat, on that fatal field, and died of the wounds he there received. *Noblesse oblige* has been Sir Vincent Eyre's motto through life, to judge from his career and the high character he bears among his friends and contemporaries.

Young Eyre was educated under the famous Dr. Valpy at the Norwich Grammar School, among his schoolfellows being Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, Sir James Brooke (Rajah Brooke), and Colonel Stoddart, who perished so miserably at Bokhara. From Norwich Eyre was transferred to Addiscombe, whence he went

out to India early in 1829, his commission as second Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery, bearing date the 12th December of the previous year. Among his fellow passengers were Dr. Marshman, the celebrated Missionary of Serampore, father-in-law of the late Sir Henry Havelock, who was returning to India, and General Sir Edward Lugard, then an ensign in a marching regiment.

On his arrival in India, on the 21st May 1829, Eyre's prospects as a young artillery officer, eager to earn the "bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth," were not very encouraging. The Burmese war and the capture of Bhurtpore had not long been completed, and India had just entered upon that period of profound peace in which it continued buried for more than ten years. Military economy, under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck, was the order of the day. Reductions were ordered in every department of the army, and the artillery branch of the service was cut down with a remorseless hand. So it came about that Eyre found himself on his arrival at Calcutta, a supernumerary on the list of officers; and with prospects as to promotion the reverse of encouraging. Opportunities of service on Staff or civil employ, with better pay and allowances than those of a second lieutenant, were not wanting to the young artilleryman, but he would not avail himself of any such, but laboured on in the dull routine of regimental duty, with the determination to bide his time; and, meanwhile, to perfect himself in his profession. Some few years passed uneventfully enough, with the exception of a narrow escape he had from drowning in 1831, while cruising off the Sandheads in a pilot schooner, which nearly foundered in a hurricane. On the 27th April, 1837, Vincent Eyre was promoted to his first lieutenantcy, and, soon after, was posted to the Horse Artillery. He served with his troop until summoned, in the latter part of 1840, to proceed as Commissary of Ordnance at Cabul, for which post he had been recommended by the Commandant of Artillery.

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General on the position of affairs in Afghanistan, and how wise was their advice events soon proved:—"We must add that to attempt to accomplish this (that is, to hold Afghanistan) by a small force, or by the mere influence of British Residents, will be most unwise and frivolous, and that we should prefer the entire abandonment of the country, and a frank confession of complete failure to any such policy. Even financial considerations justify this view, inasmuch as a strong and adequate military establishment, costly as it must be, will hardly entail so much expense upon you as those repeated revolts and disorders which

must arise in an ill-governed, half-subdued country; and which will compel you to make great and sudden efforts to maintain your character and recover predominance. We again desire you seriously to consider which of the two alternatives, (a speedy retreat from Afghanistan, or a considerable increase of the military force in that country) you may feel it your duty to adopt. We are convinced that you have no middle course to pursue with safety and with honour." The Indian Government, however, adopted neither course, but, instead of "an increase of the military force," in a fit of parsimony, curtailed their military expenditure to a point which rendered a military occupation of Afghanistan in the face of a hostile population impossible.*

Our conquest of Afghanistan had been consummated, and the entire country from Candahar to Cabul appeared to be tranquilised. As Tacitus said:—"Solitudinem faciunt, et pacem appellant." But there were not wanting indications of the approach of the coming storm, however the military and political officers who read aright these prognostications, were cried down as alarmists, and, in some instances, had been removed, or sent back in disgrace to the provinces. Among these was Brigadier Roberts, † in command of the Shah's troops, who, not seeing matters in the same *couleur de rose* light as the Envoy and minister, was obliged to vacate the command to Brigadier Anquetil, a brave soldier, but more pliable than his predecessor.

As every petty chief in Afghanistan possessed his fortified stronghold, consisting usually of four lofty and substantial mud walls, flanked by strong bastions, well pierced with loopholes for marksmen, and capable of resisting field artillery, Major Augustus Abbott had applied for heavier guns than his 6-pounders, and, accordingly, it was deemed advisable to maintain always in readiness for immediate service in the chief arsenal at Cabul, a small movable siege-train of iron 9-pounder guns for breaching purposes. These 9-pounders, together with mortars, ammunition, and miscellaneous military stores, carried on fifty wheeled carriages, 1,000 camels, and eighteen elephants, constituted Eyre's charge on the line of march from Ferozepore, our most advanced military station in the north-west, to Cabul, his escort consisting of a regiment of native infantry and a detachment of H.M.'s. 13th Foot.

* The attempt "to hold Afghanistan by the mere influence of British Residents," has been proved in 1879, as in 1841, to be "most unwise and frivolous," as also the attempt to employ "a small force;" and it may be that the policy now adopted will end in the "entire abandonment of the country and a frank confession of complete failure," which "financial considerations justify," now as then.

† This officer is father, we believe, of the general now commanding in Afghanistan.

Accompanying the convoy were Major-General Elphinstone, proceeding to take up the command in Afghanistan, and his staff, including Captain Henry Havelock, appointed Persian interpreter. No more unfortunate selection could have been made than that of the successor of Sir Willoughby Cotton. More than any other command in the East, the supreme direction of military affairs in Afghanistan demanded a combination of sound bodily health, military sagacity, and energy of will. All these were wanting in General Elphinstone, and though a man of great amiability and undoubted personal courage, which had been displayed at Waterloo, yet he had been unemployed for nearly thirty years, was in feeble health by reason of increasing physical infirmities, and was deficient in mental vigour and decision of character. The blame attaching to this appointment lies clearly at the door of the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, while that of passing over the claims of General Nott, who held the command at Candahar, and was the senior officer in Afghanistan, may be placed to the credit of Sir William Macnaghten. Next in rank to General Elphinstone, were Sir Robert Sale and Brigadier Shelton; the former had served with great distinction in command of the 13th Regiment in the Burmese war, and Shelton, who had lost an arm at the assault of San Sebastian, had likewise served with his regiment, the 44th, in the Burmese War.

Eyre passed the deposed Dost Mahomed Khan, *en route* to his place of exile in Calcutta, and reached Cabul on the 28th April, 1841, without misadventure, though the difficulty attendant on the transit of siege-guns and all the accompanying *matériel*, through a long succession of rugged mountain passes, imposed no trifling amount of exertion and fatigue on the troops, and anxiety on the artillery officer in command. But he hailed any change as acceptable after the heat and monotony of India, and then there was the anticipated pleasure of meeting some of his most intimate friends who were holding appointments in Afghanistan; among them D'Arcy Todd, the Envoy at Herat, Colonel Stoddart at Bokhara, Lieutenant Arthur Conolly at Kokhand, and Lieutenant Maule in Kohistan, the highlands of Cabul. The latter was the first to welcome him on his arrival at Cabul, having ridden seventy-five miles for that purpose through a wild and unsettled country, disguised as an Afghan. Maule and Eyre had been friends from boyhood, had passed through Addiscombe together, and had been shipmates to India. When Eyre planned a house for himself at Cabul, he arranged that one portion of it should be set apart

as Maule's room, to be available for his friend on the shortest notice.

Soon after his arrival at Cabul, news was received from Bokhara that his old school-fellow, Colonel Stoddart—who had proceeded thither from Persia to mediate with the Ameer for the release of Russian captives, and had, by his plain speaking, excited the anger of that capricious tyrant, who threw him into prison—had been restored to liberty. Sir W. Macnaghten was anxious that he should avail himself of this favourable opportunity to escape, but Stoddart, unfortunately, felt honourable scruples about leaving his post without direct instructions from the British Foreign Office, to which he owed primary allegiance. During this propitious interval, Eyre found means, through a Jewish Moollah at Cabul, to open a correspondence with his early friend, who replied in a cheerful strain, confident that the long-hoped-for letter of recall would soon arrive to enable him to depart with honour from a city in which he had already suffered so much, and where he was destined to yield up his life.

During the few months between his arrival at Cabul, in April 1841, and the memorable outbreak of November 2nd, Eyre, as chief of the Ordnance Commissariat in Afghanistan, had heavy and responsible duties in providing and maintaining a sufficient supply of the *matériel* of war, for the use of the British army of occupation, and the Shah's local forces, at Cabul, Ghuznee, Candahar, Jellalabad, and Khelat-i-Ghilzye and other outposts. The chief arsenal was in course of erection at Cabul, on a spot which had been selected by the authorities before Eyre's arrival, in a small fortified inclosure adjoining the cantonment. Eyre was also required to ascertain the capabilities of the country to yield a local supply of military stores, as every shot and shell was transported on the backs of camels from the magazine at Delhi; and as our forces in Afghanistan were liable, at any moment, to be cut off, by the Sikhs, from their base of operations at Ferozepore, it was necessary that provision should be made against such a contingency, by laying up in the Cabul arsenal a large reserve supply of stores. However, all his labours in that direction were finally closed, and all his difficulties solved in a manner not less startling than unexpected.

On the morning of the 2nd November 1841, the mob of the city of Cabul surrounded the house of Sir Alexander Burnes, and demanded that he should come down to them in the street. Burnes despatched a note to Sir William Macnaghten apprising

him of his danger, and soliciting succour, but no sooner did he enter the garden of his house, disguised as a native, than he, his brother, Captain Charles Burnes, and Captain William Broadfoot, were hacked to pieces, though not before the latter killed, it was said, six Afghans with his own hand. The insurgents then attacked the adjoining house of Captain Johnson, the paymaster of the Shah's force, and plundered it of 170,000 rupees, which he had imprudently removed from the Bala Hissar, and, finally, set the officer's house on fire. The mob did not originally exceed one hundred, but the number was rapidly augmented by the success of this exploit and the booty which had been acquired, and the whole city was soon in open insurrection. So little expectation of success did the rebel chiefs entertain at this time, that they actually had their horses ready for flight on the first appearance of British troops. The slightest exhibition of energy at the commencement would have nipped the insurrection in the bud. But what was done?

It was seven o'clock in the morning when Sir William Macnaghten received intelligence that the city was in a ferment, and that Sir Alexander Burnes's house was besieged, and he proceeded immediately to consult the General. Neither the political nor military chiefs appreciated the urgency of the case, but it was decided that Brigadier Shelton, who was encamped on the neighbouring heights of Seeah Sung, should proceed with his brigade to the Bala Hissar, and that assistance should be sent to Burnes. However, much valuable time was lost in communicating with the Shah, regarding the admission of troops into the citadel; a feeble and ineffectual attempt was made by some of the native levies with guns, to penetrate to Burnes's house, but the insurgents, flushed with success, drove the troops back, and Brigadier Shelton did nothing more than cover their retreat to the Bala Hissar. The mob now attacked a fort near Burnes' residence, in which were stored 8,000 maunds of provisions for the Shah's army. Captain Colin Mackenzie (who still survives) heroically defended this post for two days, without food or rest, and at length, seeing no hope of succour, abandoned it, and cut his way into the cantonment. On the evening of this first day of disaster General Elphinstone, instead of forming a vigorous plan of operations for the morrow, contented himself with writing to the Envoy: "We must see what the morning brings, and then think what can be done." The morning revealed the fact that nothing was wanting to quench the rebellion but promptitude and resolution. The 37th N.I. had been summoned back on the previous day from

the Khoord-Cabul Pass, where it had been left by Sir Robert Sale, and Major Griffiths, the commandant, though his progress was vigorously opposed by large bodies of armed men, fought his way back to the camp with all his baggage and two guns.

On this second day a feeble effort was made with a totally inadequate force to penetrate the city, but the troops were not despatched till three o'clock P.M., and were driven back by overwhelming numbers. This success against British soldiers inspired the Afghans with fresh spirit, and their forces were hourly recruited by fighting men, who crowded into the city from all quarters, in order to join in the work of exterminating the invader. The Envoy and General Elphinstone, thus early in the *emeute*, sent urgent letters to General Nott at Candahar, and to Sir Robert Sale, directing them to march to the relief of the beleaguered garrison with all despatch. But no help ever came from either quarter, and the unfortunate Cabul garrison* was left to its fate, which would have been far different had the General been a man of energy and capacity.

On the return from Khoord-Cabul of the 37th N.I., and Lieutenant Green's mountain train guns, a reinforcement was sent into the Bala Hissar, consisting of the left wing 54th N.I., the two newly arrived guns, one iron 9-pounder, one 24-pounder, two 5½-inch mortars and a supply of magazine stores. When Captain Nicholl was detached to the Bala Hissar, with two-thirds of his men and guns, the command of the artillery devolved on his subaltern, Lieutenant Waller; but this officer, who accompanied the detachment under Major Swayne, of the 5th N.I., which was driven back as already related, was unfortunately wounded on that occasion. The command of the guns, accordingly, devolved upon Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, who speedily showed himself the right man in the right place. From this time he took the lead in all active operations of his arm of the service, both in the field and around the extensive lines of defence, and, as

* At this time the Cabul force consisted of the following troops, thus distributed in cantonments were:—H.M.'s 44th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackerell; two guns of the 1st troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery, Lieutenant Waller; five 6-pounder field guns with a detachment of the Shah's Native Artillery, Lieutenant Warburton; the guns of the mountain train, Lieutenant Green; the Envoy's Body Guard; Anderson's Irregular Horse; a troop of Skinner's Horse; a troop of Local Horse, Lieutenant Walker; the 37th, N.I., Major Griffiths; the 5th, N.I., Lieutenant Colonel Oliver, C.B.; a wing of the 54th, N.I.; three companies of the Shah's Sappers, Captain Walsh; and about twenty men of the Sappers, attached to Captain Paton, Assistant Quartermaster-General. In the Bala Hissar, under Brigadier Shelton, were one company of H.M.'s 44th; a wing of the 54th, N.I., Major Ewart; the 6th Shah's Infantry, Captain Hopkins; and the remaining four guns of the troop of Horse Artillery, Captain Nicholl.

his only available subaltern was Lieutenant Warburton, he had little rest day or night. The force at his disposal was very meagre for the work of defending an *enceinte*, comprised within 4,000 yards of parapet so ill-made that, in some places, a pony could scramble over it. He had under his orders, thirty Europeans of the 1st troop Bengal Horse Artillery, and eighty Punjabs, of the Shah's levies, of doubtful fidelity. Of guns, in addition to those already mentioned, he had in the magazine six iron 9-pounders, three 24-pounder howitzers, one 12-pounder howitzer, and three 5½-inch mortars; all these he placed in position round the works.

Eyre heard with sorrow of the death of his friend, Lieutenant Maule, who commanded a Kohistanee regiment, stationed about twenty miles north-west of Cabul; deserted by his men, and attacked by a large body of rebels, Maule and his adjutant, Lieutenant Wheeler, defended themselves resolutely for several minutes, but at length fell under the fire of the enemy.

The 4th November was signalised by a loss, which, perhaps, more than any other tended to bring about the ultimate destruction of the force. This was the capture of the Commissariat fort, with all its contents forming the entire stock of provisions of the British troops. This fort was garrisoned by Ensign Warren, with 100 men, and his position was rendered critical by the enemy having taken possession of the Shah Bagh, the gate of which commanded the Commissariat fort, and thrown a force into the fort of Mahomed Shereef, nearly opposite the bazaar, thus effectually preventing any communication with the cantonment. Ensign Warren having sent an urgent message to the General representing his great peril, a force, consisting of two companies of the 44th, was despatched to his relief; scarcely had they left the cover of the cantonments, than they were met by a severe fire from Mahomed Shereef fort and the Shah Bagh, and were driven back with heavy loss, Captains Swayne and Robinson being among the killed, and three subalterns among the wounded. During the course of the evening, a party of the 5th Light Cavalry made a gallant attempt to relieve the fort, but were repulsed with the loss of twenty men. General Elphinstone now spoke of giving up the post and recalling the garrison, but the commissariat officers, having represented to him that there was not above two days' supply of provisions in cantonments, and that there was no prospect of procuring them elsewhere, the General sent immediate orders to Ensign Warren to hold out to the last extremity. On the evening of the 4th a letter was received from this officer,

stating that the Sepoys were escaping over the walls, and that he could not defend the fort many hours longer. In reply to this he was told he would be reinforced by 2 A.M., but, notwithstanding the urgent advice of the Envoy and other officers, including Eyre, that immediate steps should be taken to save the stock of provisions, the irresolute General could not make up his mind to send a strong column and relieve the fort at all hazards, but listened to the advice of some of his staff, to defer the assault until the morning. But alas! it was too late. When at 4 A.M., a detachment was on the point of moving off towards the fort, Ensign Warren arrived in the cantonment with his garrison. Regarding the loss of all the commissariat stores, and the bearing it had on the subsequent operations, Eyre gives it as his opinion that "it is beyond doubt that the feeble and ineffectual defence of this fort, and the valuable booty it yielded, was the first fatal blow to our supremacy at Cabul, and at once determined those chiefs—and more particularly the Kuzzilbashes—who had hitherto remained neutral, to join in the general combination to drive us from the country."

A universal feeling of indignation pervaded all ranks of the garrison when the loss of the Commissariat fort became known; and Eyre, observing a general desire on the part of the troops to go out against the enemy, strenuously urged the General to attempt the capture of Mahomed Shereef's fort by blowing open the gate, and volunteered himself to keep the road clear from any sudden advance of cavalry, with his two horse artillery guns, under cover of whose fire he proposed that the storming party should advance along the road, which, moreover, was protected along the whole length from the fire of the fort by a low wall. The General having given his consent, a storming party, under Major Swayne, was ordered for the duty. The powder bags having been got ready, about noon the party issued from the western gate. Eyre led the way with his guns, which he brought into action under the partial cover of some trees, and within 100 yards of the fort. For a space of twenty minutes the artillerymen, with a noble devotion, continued to work their guns under a galling fire from the walls of the fort, but Major Swayne, instead of rushing forward with his men, as had been agreed, remained stationary, under cover of the wall by the road side. At length General Elphinstone, who was watching the proceedings from the gateway, observing that the gun ammunition was running short, and that the infantry showed no disposition to advance to the assault, recalled the detachment into cantonments; and so ended this abortive affair. What wonder

that after the lamentable events of the last three days the Afghans, hitherto afraid to encounter European troops in the open field, gained heart, while already the feeling of invincibility on which the British soldier is wont to pride himself, was giving way to a want of confidence in himself and his leaders, which is the sure precursor of demoralisation.

On the 6th November a ray of success lit up the gloom that was just settling over the Cabul force. Eyre took an active share in the day's fighting, "It was now," he says, "determined to take the fort of Mahomed Shereef by regular breach and assault. At an early hour, three iron 9-pounder guns were brought to bear upon its north-east bastion, and two howitzers upon its contiguous curtain. I took charge of the former, Lieutenant Warburton of the latter. In the space of about two hours a practicable breach was effected, during which time a hot fire was poured upon the artillerymen by the enemy's sharpshooters, stationed in a couple of high towers which completely commanded the battery, whereby, as the embrasures crumbled away from the constant concussion, it became a difficult task to work the guns. A storming party, composed of three companies commanded by Major Griffiths, speedily carried the place. As this fort adjoined the Shah Bagh, it was deemed advisable to dislodge the enemy from the latter if possible. Learning that there was a large opening in the wall on the north side of the garden, I took a 6-pounder gun thither, and fired several rounds of grape and shrapnel upon parties of the enemy assembled within under the trees, which speedily drove them out; and had a detachment of infantry taken advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, to throw themselves into the building at the principal entrance by the road side, the place might have been easily carried permanently, and immediate possession could have been taken of the Commissariat fort opposite, which had not yet been emptied of half its contents." Meantime, a reconnoitring party under Major Thain, aide-de-camp, consisting of one gun, a troop of cavalry, and two companies of infantry, scoured the plain to the west of cantonments, and having driven the enemy from several inclosures, were returning homeward, when a large body of Afghan horse and foot proceeded from the city, and crowded the summit of the hill on the west side of the cantonment. Major Thain observing this, came to a halt, and was soon joined by two rissalahs and two troops of cavalry. Eyre now considered it his duty to join the gun which had no officer with it, and accordingly, left the 6-pounder gun under the protection of Captain Mackenzie who, with a few of his juzailchees

(matchlockmen) had joined him. Eyre at once advanced with the horse artillery gun, supported by a troop of the 5th Cavalry, to the foot of the hill, and opened fire upon the enemy, while the rest of the cavalry rode briskly up the slope to force them off. A hand-to-hand encounter took place, which ended in the Afghans retreating to the plain.

Meanwhile the enemy began to muster strong on the plain to the west of the Shah Bagh, whence they appeared to be gradually extending themselves towards the cantonment, as if to intercept the British return; it was therefore deemed prudent to recall the cavalry from the height, and show front in the plain, where they could act with more effect. A reinforcement of two companies of infantry and one gun was sent out, and the whole force was drawn up in order of battle, anticipating an attack, with one gun on either flank. In this position a distant fire was kept up by the enemy's juzailchees, to which Eyre replied by discharges of shrapnel and round shot from the guns; and at length, as night was closing in, they slowly retired to the city. Meantime the 6-pounder gun Eyre left at the opening in the wall of the Shah Bagh, was withdrawn by Captain Mackenzie, after some severe fighting, and returned to camp.

There was a short interval of rest after the capture of the fort, but it was necessary that something should be done as, notwithstanding the efforts of the commissariat officers, Captains Boyd and Johnson, in collecting supplies from the neighbouring villages, the troops were upon half rations. Brigadier Shelton was, at the earnest request of the Envoy, summoned from the Bala Hissar in the hope that his more energetic counsels would rouse General Elphinstone to action, and inspire confidence in the troops, for though the "little Brig," as the soldiers called him, was unpopular, he was respected by them for his undoubted courage. Taking with him only a regiment of the Shah's troops, one horse artillery gun, one mountain train gun, and a company of the 44th, with a supply of atta (flour), Shelton quitted the Bala Hissar between six and seven in the morning, and marched into the cantonment in broad daylight, without any opposition. But an utter want of cordial co-operation between the General and Brigadier soon became apparent, and matters quickly drifted from bad to worse. Shelton, in his statement to the court-martial at Ferozepore, says:—"I was put in orders to command cantonments, and consequently, in the course of my inspections, gave such orders and instructions as appeared to me necessary. This, however, General Elphinstone soon corrected, by reminding me that he commanded, not I."

General Elphinstone, on the other hand, while doing justice to the gallantry of his second in command, states in a memorandum he dictated shortly before his death :—"I regret to be obliged to disclose that I did not receive from Brigadier Shelton that cordial co-operation I had a right to expect, on the contrary, his manner was most contumacious ; from the day of his arrival he never gave me information or advice, but invariably found fault with all that was done, and canvassed and condemned all orders before officers, frequently preventing and delaying carrying them into effect. He appeared to be actuated by an ill-feeling towards me. I did everything in my power to remain on terms with him."

On the morning of the 10th November, the enemy mustered in considerable force on the heights commanding the cantonment, and moving down into the plain, took possession of some small forts near the eastern side of the cantonment. One of these, known as the Ricka Bashee fort, was within musket-shot, directly opposite the Mission Compound, and from thence, as well as from among the ruins of a house opposite the north-east bastion, their sharpshooters maintained a deadly fire upon the artillerymen manning the guns in the works. General Elphinstone did not seem inclined to take any steps to oust the insolent foe, but the Envoy, indignant at such pusillanimity, remonstrated with the General, who, on his agreeing to take the entire responsibility on himself, reluctantly consented to despatch a force to clear the enemy out of the Ricka Bashee fort. Accordingly, the following troops, about 2,000, were assembled at ten o'clock, under the orders of Brigadier Shelton :—2 horse artillery guns, and 1 mountain gun, under Vincent Eyre ; Walker's Horse ; H.M.'s 44th Foot, 37th N.I., and 6th Shah's Infantry. But, when all was ready, the General changed his mind and countermanded the movement. "I was occupied," says Shelton in his statement, "in telling off the force, about 10 A.M., when I heard Elphinstone say to his aide-de-camp, 'I think we had better give it up.' The latter replied, 'Then why not countermand it at once?' which was done, and I returned, as you may conceive, disgusted with such vacillation." Brigadier Shelton, overflowing with rage, laid the case before the Envoy, who made representations to the General, which induced that vacillating chief to order an advance once more. But the ardour of the troops had been damped, and a great opportunity had been thrown away.

Soon after noon the force issued from the cantonment, preceded by a storming party, consisting of two companies from each

regiment, accompanied by Captain Bellew, the Assistant Quarter-master-General, who had gallantly volunteered to undertake the duty of blowing in the gate. But, by some accident, instead of blowing open the main gate, he blew open a small wicket. Colonel Mackerell, of the 44th Regiment, commanding the storming party, gallantly advanced to carry the work, and though they could with difficulty make their way through the aperture, this officer and Lieutenant Bird, of the Shah's Infantry, accompanied by a handful of Europeans and Sepoys, forced an entrance. The garrison, supposing that this small band were backed up by the whole party, fled from the gate on the opposite side of the fort. All would have gone well, but at this critical moment, a body of Afghan horse charged round the corner of the fort next the wicket, and a cry of "cavalry" was raised. The entire party now fled, leaving their comrades in the fort. In vain did the officers exhort the men to stand their ground, conspicuous among the number being Brigadier Shelton, who stemmed the tide of fugitives, and at length succeeded in rallying them. Once more the troops, encouraged by the fire of the guns from the cantonment walls, which drove back the enemy, advanced to the assault, and the fort was captured.

Meantime, on the first retreat of our men, Lieutenant Bird, with Colonel Mackerell, and several Europeans hastily shut the gate by which the garrison had retreated, but the enemy returning in great force, Colonel Mackerell was killed, and Lieutenant Bird, with two Sepoys, retreating into a stable, shut the door; all the rest of the storming party were slaughtered, and when the fort was retaken, Bird and his comrades were found alive and triumphant, with 30 dead bodies around them. The British loss in this affair was severe, being not less than 200 killed and wounded. Four neighbouring forts were immediately evacuated by the enemy, and occupied by Shelton, who, observing that large numbers of Ghilzye horse and foot still maintained their position on the Secah Sung heights, moved his force to dispossess them. On reaching the base of the hill, Eyre opened fire with his two horse artillery guns, causing the enemy shortly to retire on the city. The forts that had been captured, were found to contain about 1,400 maunds of grain, but as only half was removed that night, and Shelton refused to leave a guard there, the remainder was gone in the morning. Permanent possession, was, however, taken of the Ricka Bashee and Zulfekar forts, the towers of the remainder being blown up on the following day.

For some few days there was quiet, but, on the 13th

November, the enemy occupied in great strength the Beymaroo hills, and opened fire on the cantonment from two guns they planted on these heights. The Envoy sought to induce General Elphinstone to send out a force to drive away the enemy, but in vain, until he offered to take upon himself the responsibility of the step. Accordingly Brigadier Shelton—who was strongly averse to aggressive measures, and counselled negotiating with the enemy for a safe convoy to Peshawur—marched out of the cantonment with a strong force, consisting of two squadrons of the 5th Light Cavalry, one squadron of the Shah's 2nd Irregular Horse, one troop of Skinner's Horse, and the Envoy's Body-Guard; six companies of H.M.'s 44th, six companies of the 37th N.I., and four companies of the Shah's 6th Infantry; one horse artillery gun, and one Mountain Train gun, under Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, escorted by a company of the Shah's 6th Infantry. It was almost four o'clock when the troops took the field. They first marched in the direction of the gorge between the Beymaroo hills, the enemy's horse crossing that to the left, and advanced in three columns at so brisk a pace that they reached the foot of the hill and commenced ascending it before the horse artillery gun, which had been detained in the rear by sticking fast in a canal, could fire more than one round of grape. The Afghans resolutely stood their ground on the summit of the ridge, and received the discharge of our musketry, which, says Eyre, "even at the short range of ten or twelve yards, did little or no execution." The enemy, seeing their immunity, grew bolder every moment, and advancing close up to the bayonets of our infantry, drove them backwards to the foot of the hill. Lady Sale, who watched the action from the ramparts, writes in her *Journal* "My very heart felt as if it leapt to my teeth, when I saw the Afghans ride clean through them. The onset was fearful. They looked like a great cluster of bees; but we beat them and drove them up again."

The triumph of the enemy was only temporary. Eyre poured several rounds of grape and shrapnel into their ranks, and threw them into some confusion, whereupon a timely charge of cavalry, headed by Anderson's Horse, drove them again up the hill; once more the infantry advanced and carried the height, the enemy retreating along the ridge, closely followed by the British troops, and abandoning their guns. The horse artillery gun now took up a position in the middle of the gorge, whence it played with effect on a large body of cavalry assembled on the plain on the west of the hill, who forthwith retreated to a distance. As our troops had now got into ground

where it was impracticable for horse artillery to follow, Eyre pushed forward with one artilleryman, and a supply of drag-ropes and spikes, to look out for the deserted guns of the enemy. He says:—"A 4-pounder was easily moved along the ridge by a party of the Shah's 6th Infantry, but the other, a 6-pounder, was awkwardly situated in a ravine half-way down the side of the hill; our troops, with the mountain 3-pounder being drawn up along the ridge just above it. The evening was now just closing in, and a large body of Afghan infantry occupied some inclosures on the plain below, whence they kept up so hot a fire upon the gun as to render its removal by no means an easy task; but the Envoy having sent us a message of entreaty that no exertions might be spared to complete the triumph of the day by bringing off both the enemy's guns, Major Scott, of H.M.'s 44th, repeatedly called on his men to descend with him to drag the 6-pounder away; but, strange to say, his frequent appeals to their soldierly feelings were made in vain, and, with a few gallant exceptions, they remained immovable, nor could the Sepoys be induced to lead the way when their European brethren so obstinately hung back. Meanwhile it became nearly dark, and the further detention of the troops being attended with risk, as the enemy, though driven from the hill, still maintained a threatening attitude below, I descended with a horse artillery gunner, and, having driven in a spike, returned to assist in making sure of the captured 4-pounder. This, from the steepness of the hill and the numerous water-cuts which everywhere intersected the plain, proved a somewhat troublesome business. Lieutenant Macarthy, however, with a company of the Shah's 6th Infantry, urged on his men with zeal, and we at last had the satisfaction to deposit our prize safe within the cantonment gates.

"This success," says Eyre, in conclusion, "was the last our arms were destined to experience." But it had an excellent effect. Hope once more revived in the breasts of the garrison, though they were to learn, from bitter experience, the truth of the words Shelley puts into the mouth of the despairing Beatrice:—

"Worse than despair,
Worse than the bitterness of death, is hope;
It is the only ill which can find place
Upon the giddy, sharp, and narrow base
Tottering beneath us."

There was now a few days rest for the sorely tried garrison. On the 15th November, Major Pottinger and Lieutenant

Haughton came in severely wounded from Chareekar, and reported the destruction of the entire Goorkha regiment which formed its garrison. During the course of the night of the 17th November, the Envoy received a note from Macgregor, which dispelled the last hope of any assistance from Sale's Brigade. The military authorities now pressed upon the Envoy the "hopelessness of further resistance," but Macnaghten was averse to negotiating a withdrawal from the country, and expressed his opinion that they should hold out as long as possible in the cantonment, or retire into the Bala Hissar, but this step, which might have saved the force, was opposed by Brigadier Shelton, who urged an immediate retreat on Peshawur.

On the morning of the 22nd November, large bodies of Afghan horse and foot issued from the city, and proceeded to crown the summit of the Beymaroo hill, at the north-east extremity of which was a village of the same name, which commanded a large portion of the Mission Compound. As the Envoy had for some time been drawing supplies from this village, by bribing the proprietor, it was determined to send a party to forestall the enemy in its occupation. Accordingly Major Swayne, 5th N.I., was ordered for that duty, with a detachment composed of one wing of his regiment, three troops of cavalry, and one mountain train gun. The party had already reached the village, when the General considering it necessary to detach a horse artillery gun, requested Eyre to accompany it. Major Swayne, however, found the village occupied by a body of Kohistanecs, and the entrance blocked up in such a manner that he considered it out of his power to force a passage. On arriving at the place with the horse artillery gun, Eyre found him in an orchard by the roadside, the trees of which partially protected the men from a very sharp fire poured in amongst them from the houses. There being no shelter for the gun here, nor any mode of employing it to advantage, Eyre proceeded across some fields to the right, and took up a position with his two guns, where they could fire with most effect from the village, and the heights above it, which were now crowded with the enemy's infantry. The horses were placed for shelter under the walls of Zoolficar Khan's fort, but the guns remained in the open field exposed to the full fire of the enemy posted in the village and behind the neighbouring walls.

Major Swayne, whose orders were to storm the village, would neither go forward nor retire, but, concealing his men under the cover of a low wall, he maintained an ineffective fire on the

houses of Beymaroo, while the cavalry were drawn up in rear of the guns on the open plain. "Thus we remained," says Eyre, "for five or six hours, during which time the artillery was exposed to the deliberate aim of the numerous marksmen who occupied the village, and its immediate vicinity, whose bullets continually sang in our ears, often striking the gun, and grazing the ground on which we stood. Only two gunners, however, out of six were wounded, but the cavalry in our rear had many casualties, both among men and horses.

"Late in the evening a party of Afghan horse moving round from behind Beymaroo, proceeded towards a fort in our rear, whence a cross fire was opened upon us. Brigadier Shelton now joined, bringing with him a reinforcement from the 5th N.I., under Colonel Oliver; Major Swayne, with two companies, was thence sent to reconnoitre the fort whence the fire proceeded, and the horse artillery gun was at the same time moved round, so as to bear upon the Afghan cavalry who hovered among the trees in the same quarter. While engaged in this operation, I received a bullet through the left hand, which for the present terminated my active services. Shortly after this the troops were recalled into cantonments."

The wound Vincent Eyre had received was a severe one, and was the cause of great and prolonged suffering to him. The ball passed through his hand, and, through want of proper care, continued to suppurate for months, reducing him to a state of great weakness. On his return to India, the standing Medical Committee at Meerut examined his wound on the 2nd March, 1843, more than fifteen months after he had received it, and reported that "the left hand is at present so seriously injured that we consider it equal to the loss of a limb, and so therefore recommend that he should receive the pension assigned for such injury." Notwithstanding this recommendation, the Government did not sanction a pension. The hand has continued crippled to the present day.

This wound closed Vincent Eyre's active career in the field, or directing the guns of position on the ramparts; and not many hours elapsed before the force had a practical illustration of the severe loss it had sustained in the cessation of the services of so efficient and energetic an artillery officer. General Elphinstone, in his despatch to the Government of India, dated 22nd February, 1842, shortly before his death, bore the following testimony to Eyre's courage and devotion to the duties of his position:—"Throughout the whole siege the utmost zeal was manifested by Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, Commissary of Ordnance, who, in"

consequence of the paucity of artillery officers, on all occasions volunteered his services, and was unfortunately wounded."

On the 22nd November, Mahomed Akbar Khan, second son of the captive Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, arrived at Cabul, and, on the following day, occurred a disastrous action, which decided the fate of the British force. A council of war had been held in the General's quarters on the previous evening, when, upon the earnest entreaty of the Envoy, it was determined that a strong force should set out before daybreak, and drive the enemy from the hill above the village of Beymaroo. Shelton recommended that, at the same time, an attack should be made on the village, but his advice was overruled. At 2 A.M., a strong detachment moved out, under Brigadier Shelton, and the hill was carried without difficulty, but, as day dawned, the enemy poured out of the city in thousands, and a general action commenced. Eyre ascribes the unfortunate result of the day chiefly to Shelton's folly in taking with him only one horse artillery gun, so that there was no second gun to take up the fire when the vent became too hot for the artillerymen to "serve."

The Afghans, with their long-range matchlocks, which took effect at 200 yards, poured a destructive fire upon our infantry from every hillock and inequality of the ground; the gun ammunition began to fail, and the infantry, growing faint with fatigue, could not be induced by the Brigadier to charge bayonets. In vain five officers of the Indian army—Captains Mackenzie, Troup, Leighton, and Macintosh, and Lieutenant Laing—in order to shame their countrymen, advanced to the front and actually pelted the Afghans with stones; Captain Macintosh and Lieutenant Laing paying the penalty of their daring with their lives. The Afghans, seeing the pusillanimity of their enemies, charged the square; a panic ensued, the British troops fled, and the gun fell into the hands of the enemy. Our men were, at length, rallied, but could not be induced to make a forward movement; an opportunity of retrieving the fortunes of the day was thus lost, and the enemy once more advanced in heavy masses, and renewed the unequal conflict. Notwithstanding the Brigadier's repeated demands for reinforcements, including a second gun, which were enforced by Macnaghten's strenuous council, General Elphinstone, who stood beside the Envoy on the ramparts, watching the varying fortunes of the fight, replied "it was a wild scheme and could have no result."

Shelton, overpowered by numbers, ordered the gun to be limbered up, and was falling back, when the Ghazees rushed on the retreating troops. All order was now at an end; in vain the

officers—headed by Shelton, who seemed to bear a charmed life, as five balls struck him with no effect—exerted themselves by example and entreaty to rally the broken and panic-struck soldiers, who ran down the hill towards the cantonment, chased by the Afghan cavalry. The cantonment was only saved from capture by a dashing charge of a handful of cavalry, under Lieutenant Walker, who sacrificed his life by his devotion, and, still more by the treachery of an Afghan chief, Osman Khan, who, at this critical moment, halted his followers and led them back to the city, taking away the captured gun. All the wounded, who had been abandoned in this mad stampede, were butchered on the field, including the gallant Colonel Oliver, C.B., who had courted death rather than survive disgrace.

Vincent Eyre, from his quarters in cantonments, could hear distinctly the clash of battle and the shouting of the contending hosts, as the fortunes of the day surged to and fro in that long and momentous conflict of the 23rd November. Hope and fear alternated in his breast between those weary hours from 2 A.M., till one hour after noon, when all doubt of the fatal result was set at rest by the appearance of his friend, Colin Mackenzie, whose pale and haggard looks as he rushed into his room, eloquently announced a tale of disaster. On opening his coat, a bullet dropped out, which had struck his shoulder, fortunately without penetrating the bone.*

Such being the state of affairs, and provisions in sufficient quantities to feed the large force of 16,000 fighting-men and camp-followers not being obtainable by remaining passive within cantonments, it became a matter for consideration what

* Eyre's criticisms upon the conduct of the operations of the day, as given in his book, were the subject of much controversy among military men, but the general opinion was favourable to their soundness, and it is certain that they have never been controverted successfully. Major Hough, who, in his work, avows himself Brigadier Shelton's advocate, has sought to combat them, but our military readers will doubtless agree that he has failed in absolving his friend from severe animadversion. The blame of going into action with only one gun may be equally shared between the General and his second in command. In 1806, Lord Lake issued a general order against a single gun being taken into action, and a similar order was promulgated by Lord Hastings, and was accepted with entire unanimity. With reference to Eyre's assertions, which has been supported by every other writer, that the infantry were formed into square, on the Beymaroo hills, to oppose the enemy's distant fire, Hough states that the Brigadier and Captain Evans of the 44th, both assured him that no square was formed, but the flanks of the infantry were only thrown back *en potence*. Lady Sale, in her journal (much of which was borrowed from Captain Johnson's notes), holds Shelton responsible for not occupying the village as well as the hill of Beymaroo, but it appears that Shelton recommended the adoption of this course, which was overruled by the council of war. Hence he went into action with his hands, in a measure, tied, and with instructions to carry out a plan of operations which did not meet with his entire approval.

course of action should be adopted to free the Cabul garrison from their difficulties. Besides retreating upon Jellalabad, which would be attended with great risk, there were two courses open to the military and political chiefs. One was to concentrate in the Bala Hissar, which was urgently recommended by Shah Soojah and Captain John Conolly, the British representative with the king; the second was to negotiate for terms with the enemy. The military authorities having refused to entertain the former proposal, the Envoy, whose nobler nature revolted at the dishonourable step of suing for terms from an enemy whom he still affected to despise, officially addressed General Elphinstone as to whether he considered it "feasible any longer to maintain their position in the country." "I am of opinion," was the reply, "that it is not feasible any longer to maintain our position in this country, and that you ought to avail yourself of the offer to negotiate which has been made to you."

Negotiations now commenced, but, at first, had no result, as Sultan Mahomed Khan Barukzye demanded that the British should surrender at discretion, as prisoners of war, with all their arms, ammunition, and treasure—an insulting proposal which Macnaghten refused with disdain. At this time Mahomed Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahomed, began to assume the direction of affairs. He was a man of an eager, impetuous nature, not without some generous qualities, but bold and unscrupulous in effecting the objects he had in view. He hated the English who held in captivity his father and wife, and resolved that not one of them should leave the country with arms in their hands. The insurgents, recognising in him the man of the hour, rallied round him; and, like Harry Hotspur in our own history, he was no unfit leader for the fiery spirits around him.

On the 5th December, the enemy, in open day, burnt the bridge which had been thrown over the Cabul river, a quarter of a mile from cantonments, and, on the following day, Mahomed Shereef's fort, which was garrisoned by a party of European and Native troops, was abandoned. Once more the Envoy, seeing the destruction of the force inevitable unless vigorous measures were adopted, proposed to withdraw into the Bala Hissar, but General Elphinstone refused his concurrence. As the troops were almost starving, he then suggested that a night attack should be made on Khojah Rewash fort, four miles distant, in which was stored a quantity of supplies, but, when the troops were ready to start, the enterprise was abandoned as being "dangerous."

On the morning the 11th of December there was only

enough food for the day's consumption of the fighting-men, and as to the wretched camp-followers, they had been subsisting for some days on the carcases of the camels that had died of starvation. The Envoy was, accordingly, compelled to re-open negotiations, and, after an angry discussion of two hours, the terms of a treaty were arranged. The salient points in it were, that the British troops at Cabul, Candahar, Ghuznee, and Jellalabad, should evacuate the country, receiving every possible assistance in carriage and provisions, and that Dost Mahomed and his family should be set at liberty. Shah Soojah was to be allowed the option of remaining in Afghanistan, with a pension of £10,000 a year, or of returning with the British troops to India. The army was to quit the cantonments and Bala Hissar within three days, and, in the meantime, to receive ample supplies of provisions, for which due payment was to be made. On our part, four officers were to be delivered up as hostages for the performance of the stipulations.

The Bala Hissar was evacuated on the 14th, but the Sirdars refused to supply provisions or forage until they had a guarantee of our sincerity by the surrender of all the forts in the immediate vicinity of the camp. Notwithstanding that by giving up the works demanded, viz., the Ricka Bashec, the magazine and Zoolfekar's forts, all of which commanded the cantonments, the army would be placed at the mercy of the enemy, the order was given, and the troops were withdrawn. But the Afghan chiefs, on one pretext or another, delayed furnishing the necessary carriage to enable the troops to move; and, on the 20th, they demanded the surrender of a portion of the guns and ammunition, and that Brigadier Shelton should be placed in their hands as a hostage. On the following day, the Envoy met Osman Khan and Akbar Khan, when four hostages were agreed upon, two of whom, Captains Conolly and Airey were at once given over; but Brigadier Shelton declined to accede to the arrangement by which he was to be one of the number. On the 22nd December, Eyre was ordered to conduct over the magazine an Afghan official sent to select such stores as might be most acceptable to the chiefs, and he succeeded in inducing the ignorant emissary to content himself with a large pile of 8-inch shells, which would be of as little use to his masters as they were to the garrison, where there were no mortars of that calibre.

Matters were swiftly approaching the catastrophe, and, on the 23rd December, the Envoy was murdered at a conference with the Afghan chiefs, Akbar Khan himself taking his life.

with a pistol presented to him by Macnaghten. Captain Trevor, one of his assistants, was also killed by the Ghazoes, but the two other assistants, Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie, reached Mohamed Khan's fort in safety. While confined in a small room they were in imminent danger, as the infuriated Ghilzyes were with difficulty restrained from shooting them through the window, while a hand, afterwards ascertained to be that of the Envoy, was insultingly held up to their view. At midnight they were removed to the house of Akbar Khan, who received them courteously and informed them of the death of Macnaghten and Trevor. Lieutenant le Geyt, of the Envoy's body-guard, rode back to cantonments with the intelligence that the Envoy and his companions had been carried off, but so culpably supine were the military authorities, that though crowds of armed Afghans, horse and foot, were seen parading to and fro in front of the very gate, not a gun was opened on them, not a soldier was moved, and no effort of any sort was made even to ascertain the fate of the Envoy and his companions. This was not known until, on the following day, a communication was received from Captain Lawrence, together with certain overtures from the confederate chiefs, seeking a renewal of the negotiations on the basis of the treaty initiated by the Envoy.

All eyes were instinctively turned in this emergency towards Major Eldred Pottinger, as the man most capable of filling the vacant political post. Notwithstanding that he was still suffering from the wound he had received at Chareekar, and though affairs were in a desperate condition, he consented, with commendable disinterestedness, to take up the tangled thread of negotiations where it had fallen from the hands of the late Envoy; and forthwith summoned a Council of War, at which were present General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, Brigadier Anquetil, commanding the Shah's troops, and Colonel Chambers, 5th Cavalry. The terms they were convened to discuss differed from those the late Envoy had approved only in the demand of larger gratuities to the chiefs, as the price of the immunity from attack they pledged themselves to guarantee to the discomfited army on the retreat through the passes. Major Pottinger expressed his opinion that the dishonourable compact should be rejected with scorn, but he stood alone and unsupported. The Council of War, true to the proverb, refused to fight, and so the draft treaty was accepted and sent back. But the Afghan chiefs, seeing that there appeared to be no limits to the concessions that might be extorted, now made additional demands for the surrender of all the guns except two, and the spare

muskets, and that General Sale, his wife and child, and the married officers, with their wives and children, should be held as hostages at Cabul until the return of Dost Mahomed from Hindostan. The Council was again convened, and Pottinger strenuously urged the military leaders to fall back on the Bala Hissar, or cut their way to Jellalabad. Elphinstone was almost persuaded to adopt a bold course even at this, the eleventh, hour, but his evil genius, Shelton, was at his elbow and dissuaded him.

Four married hostages being required by the chiefs, with their wives and children, a circular was sent round to ascertain if that number would volunteer to remain, a salary of £2,400 per annum being guaranteed to each as an inducement. Writing of the proposal contained in this circular, of which he received a copy, Vincent Eyre says: "Such, however, was the horror entertained of Afghan treachery since the late tragical occurrence, that some officers went so far as to say they would sooner shoot their wives at once, than commit them to the charge of men who had proved themselves devoid of common honour and humanity. There were, in fact, but one or two who consented to stay, if the General considered that by so doing they would benefit the public service." As a matter of fact, Eyre, with noble self-devotion, stood alone in offering not only himself—that, as a soldier, he was always prepared to do—but his wife and child as a sacrifice on the altar of public duty. On this point Lady Sale's journal enlightens us: "Lieutenant Eyre said if it was to be productive of great good he would stay with his wife and child. The others all refused to risk the safety of their families. One said he would rather put a pistol to his wife's head and shoot her; and another, that his wife should only be taken at the point of the bayonet—for himself he was ready to perform any duty imposed on him." Commenting on Eyre's disinterested devotion to duty, a writer in the *Naval and Military Gazette* says: "Channing, in his eloquent and philosophic analysis of the character of Napoleon, has felicitously defined three orders of greatness, in the last of which he assigns a place to the great conqueror of Europe. Following the spirit of that great thinker, we cannot but recognise in Eyre's noble reply a higher tone of feeling than can be traced in the answers of either of his gallant comrades; and our acquiescence in the sentiments of Dr. Channing leads us to hail in Lieutenant Eyre's conduct on this occasion the lineaments of that first order—moral greatness—through which the soul defies all peril; reposes an unfaltering trust

in God in the darkest hour, and is ever ready to be offered upon the altar of his country or of mankind."

In consequence of the refusal of the married officers to deliver up their wives and children as hostages, the chiefs were informed that it was contrary to the usages of war to consent to such an arrangement, but four officers, who had been accepted as hostages, were sent to join Captains Conolly and Airey, and the sick and wounded were conveyed to the city; also 5 of the Shah's guns, with the greater portion of the treasure, were surrendered. On the first day of ~~the~~ the new year, 1842, a day of humiliation and gloom in the British camp, the ratified treaty was sent in, bearing the seals of eighteen of the Afghan chiefs; but these tokens of good faith were scarcely dry before all the provisions of the treaty were violated without scruple. Information had been received in the cantonment, from Mohun Lall (the late Sir Alexander Burnes' Persian Moonshce), and others located in the city, that treachery was brewing, and that the chiefs had sworn that the English should not leave Afghanistan alive. But to these warnings, and others which even specified that they would be attacked while leaving the cantonment, no heed was given, and, indeed, it was now almost too late.

Those first few days of January were passed in doubt and anxiety. Every preparation had been made by the garrison, but valuable time was lost waiting for the escort promised by the chiefs. At length, on the morning of the 6th January, the retreat on Jellalabad commenced, the snow at the time being ankle-deep. The Cabul force numbered 4,500 men.* In addition there were about 12,000 camp followers, besides some 1,300 women and children. As they waited for the order to march, the British soldiers, cowed by their reverses, resembled in

* The following was the strength of the British that marched out of the cantonment on the 6th January, 1842:—

ment on the 6th January, 1942:—		
One Troop of Horse Artillery	90	} 600 Europeans.
H.M.'s 44th Regiment	600	
5th Light Cavalry, two squadrons	260	} 970 Cavalry.
5th Shah's Irregular Cavalry (Anderson's)	500	
Skinner's Horse, 1 Rissalah	70	
4th Irregular Horse, 1 Rissalah	70	
The late Envoy's Body-Guard	70	
5th Native Infantry	700	
37th " "	800	} 2,840
54th " "	850	
6th Shah's Infantry	600	
Sappers and Miners	20	
Shah's " "	240	
Half the Mountain Train	30	
Six Horse Artillery guns, and three Mountain Train guns.		

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appearance, but not in spirit, their countrymen on the night before Agincourt :—

“The poor condemned English
Sit patiently, and inly ruminate
The morning's danger; and their gesture sad,
Investing lank-lean cheeks and war-worn coats,
Presenteth them unto the gazing morn
So many horrid ghosts.”

The advanced guard, under Brigadier Anquetil, moved off with some order and steadiness, but once out of the cantonment, the camp-followers could not be prevented from mixing themselves up with the troops on the line of march, to the utter confusion of the whole column. The main body, under Brigadier Shelton, with its long train of laden camels, continued to pour out of the cantonment in endless procession during the whole day, while the rear-guard took up a position outside, on the plain. Dashing in among the baggage, the Ghazees cut down the helpless camp-followers, and carried off whatever they could seize. From the opening made in the ramparts, to the bridge, streamed a dense and struggling column of soldiers and camp-followers, camels and ponies, while the air was rent with the discordant yells of the Afghans and shrieks of their victims.

At six o'clock in the evening, the Residency, and all the other buildings in the cantonment being in flames, the rear-guard moved away, having suffered severely from the fire of the enemy, one officer and 50 men being left dead or dying on the snow, while two horse artillery guns had to be spiked and abandoned. It was two o'clock in the morning ere the rear-guard reached the encamping ground on the right bank of the Cabul river, near Begramee, only some five miles distant from the cantonments. But what a march it had been! The road was strewn with dying wretches, the miserable natives of Hindoostan, men, women, and children, who were utterly unable to cope with the intense cold. Already some of the Sepoys gave up the struggle for life, and lay down on the snow to die. The night that ensued was one of horror.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 7th January, the forces moved off in the reverse order of the preceding day, if, as Eyre says, “that could be called order, which consisted of a mingled mob of soldiers, camp-followers, and baggage cattle, preserving not even the faintest resemblance of that regularity and discipline on which depended our only chance of escape from the dangers that threatened us.” The cold was so intense that the breath froze in its passage out of the mouth and nostrils.

forming a coat of small icicles on the men's moustaches and beards. Even at this early stage of the retreat, scarcely one-half of the Sepoys were fit for duty, and hundreds had fallen out of the ranks and joined the non-combatants; and of the Shah's 6th Infantry, only a few straggling files were left. The advance suffered no molestation, but the rear-guard, under Brigadier Anquetil, consisting of the 44th, Lieutenant Green's mounted guns, and a squadron of irregular cavalry, was fiercely attacked. Much baggage fell into the hands of the enemy, who, though in some degree kept in check by the guns, maintained a harassing fire on the troops. At length the Afghans made a rush and captured the guns, and the 44th could not be prevailed upon to attempt to retake them, though a gallant example was shown them by Lieutenant Green and his few artillerymen, who made a sudden charge upon the foe and spiked the guns, but, not being supported, were obliged to abandon them. Brigadier Anquetil now despatched an orderly to the front for reinforcements, which, however, it was impracticable to send, owing to the crowded state of the road. The Afghan horse, shortly after this, charged into the very midst of the column of baggage, and carried off a large quantity, creating confusion and dismay. It was found necessary to spike and abandon two more horse artillery guns, as the horses were incapable of dragging them through the deep snow. The rear-guard was in danger of being altogether cut off, when General Elphinstone, having arrived at Boothak, sent back all the troops he could spare, with the only remaining horse artillery guns. A halt was now made, and Akbar Khan appeared on the scene with 600 horsemen, and promised, if they would halt at Boothak till the following morning, to provide food, forage, and firewood for the troops. But he demanded more hostages as security for the evacuation of Jellalabad. "It was too late to send a reply," says Pottinger, in his official report, "and nothing was determined; but some persons persuaded the General to abandon his intention of marching." And so the entire force came to a halt on some high ground near the entrance to the Khoord-Cabul Pass, having in two days accomplished a distance of only ten miles.

The confusion far exceeded, if it were possible, that of the preceding night. The great assembly of 14,000 to 16,000 men, with some hundred cavalry horses and baggage cattle were all mixed up in one inextricable mass. Many lay down in the snow to wake in another world. The night closed over that seething mass, with its attendant horrors of cold and starvation; for once

again the Afghan leaders broke their word, and there was neither food, shelter, nor firewood. Morning at length dawned, and the sun rose on the 8th January. The horrors of the next twenty-four hours are described by Eyre in his narrative with graphic eloquence; and the pages were read by Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, to the House of Commons, and thrilled the hearts of thousands throughout the British Empire. He says:—"At an early hour, the treacherous Afghans again commenced to molest us with their fire, and several hundreds having assembled in hostile array to the south of the camp, the troops were drawn up in expectation of an attack. Major Thain, putting himself at the head of the 44th Foot, and exhorting the men to follow him, led them boldly on to the attack; but the enemy did not think proper to await the shock of bayonets, and effected a hasty retreat. In this business it is satisfactory to be able to say that H.M.'s. 44th Foot behaved with a resolution, and gallantry worthy of British soldiers, and plainly proved that, under an able and judicious leader, they could yet redeem their injured reputation. Captain Skinner again went to communicate with Mahomed Akbar Khan, who demanded that Major Pottinger and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie* should immediately be made over to him, which was accordingly done, and hostilities again ceased, the Sirdar promising to send forward some influential men to clear the pass from the Ghilzyes who occupied it, and were lying in wait for our approach. Once more the living mass of men and animals was in motion. At the entrance of the pass an attempt was made to separate the troops from the non-combatants, which was but partially successful, and created considerable delay. The rapid effects of two nights' exposure in disorganising the force can hardly be conceived. It had so nipped the hands and feet of even the strongest men as to completely prostrate their powers and incapacitate them for service; even the cavalry, who suffered less than the rest, were obliged to be lifted on their horses. In fact, only a few hundred serviceable fighting men remained. The idea of threading the stupendous pass before us, in the face of an armed tribe of blood-thirsty barbarians, with such a dense irregular multitude, was frightful, and the spectacle then presented by that waving sea of animated beings, the majority of whom a few fleeting hours

* Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie, who were made prisoners on the 23rd December, when the Envoy was murdered, were released a few days afterwards. Akbar Khan also demanded a fourth hostage in the person of Brigadier Shelton, but that officer resolutely refused to place himself in the power of the treacherous enemy, upon which Major Pottinger offered to take his place, if Akbar Khan accepted him as a hostage.

would transform into a line of lifeless carcasses to guide the future traveller on his way, can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. We had so often been deceived by Afghan professions that little or no confidence was placed in the present truce; and we commenced our passage through the dreaded pass in no very sanguine temper of mind. This truly formidable defile is about five miles from end to end, and is shut in on either hand by a line of lofty hills, between whose precipitous sides the sun at this season could dart but a momentary ray. Down the centre dashed a mountain torrent whose impetuous course the frost in vain attempted to arrest, though it succeeded in lining the edges with thick layers of ice, over which the snow lay consolidated in slippery masses, affording no very easy footing for our jaded animals. This stream we had to cross and recross about twenty-eight times. As we proceeded onwards, the defile gradually narrowed, and the Ghilzyes were observed hastening to crown the heights in considerable force. A hot fire was opened on the advance, with whom were several ladies, who, seeing their only chance was to keep themselves in rapid motion, galloped forward at the head of all, running the gauntlet of the enemy's bullets, which whizzed in hundreds about their ears, until they were fairly out of the pass. Providentially the whole escaped, with the exception of Lady Sale, who received a slight wound in the arm. It ought, however, to be mentioned, that several of Mahomed Akbar's chief adherents, who had preceded the advance, exerted themselves strenuously to keep down the fire, but nothing could restrain the Ghilzyes, who seemed fully determined that nobody should interfere to disappoint them of their prey. Onward moved the crowd into the thickest of the fire, and fearful was the slaughter that ensued. A universal panic speedily prevailed, and thousands seeking refuge in flight, hurried forward to the front, abandoning baggage, arms, ammunition, women and children, regardless for the moment of everything but their own lives. The rear-guard, consisting of H.M.'s 44th Foot, and 54th N.I., suffered severely, and, at last, finding that delay was only destruction, they followed the general example, and made the best of their way to the front. Another horse artillery gun was abandoned, and the whole of its artillerymen slain. Captain Anderson's eldest girl and Captain Boyd's youngest boy fell into the hands of the Afghans. It is supposed that 3,000 souls perished in the pass, amongst whom were Captain Paton, Assistant-Quarter-master General; Lieutenant St. George, 37th N.I.;

Majors Griffiths, 37th N.I., and Scott, H.M.'s. 44th. Captains Bott, 5th Cavalry, and Troup,* Brigade-Major, Shah's force, Dr. Carden and Lieutenant Sturt, Engineers, were wounded, the latter mortally. This fine young officer had nearly cleared the defile when he received his wound, and would have been left on the ground to be hacked to pieces by the Ghazees, who followed in the rear to complete the work of slaughter, but for the generous intrepidity of Lieutenant Mein, of H.M.'s 13th Light Infantry, who, on hearing what had befallen him, went back to his succour, and stood by him several minutes at the imminent risk of his own life, vainly entreating aid from the passers-by. He was, at length, joined by Sergeant Deane of the Sappers, with whose assistance he dragged his friend on a quilt through the remainder of the pass, when he succeeded in mounting him on a miserable pony, and conducted him in safety to camp, where the unfortunate officer lingered till the following morning, and was the only man of the whole force who received Christian burial. Lieutenant Mein was at this very time himself suffering from a dangerous wound in the head, received in the previous October, and his heroic disregard of self, and fidelity to his friend in the hour of danger, are well deserving of a record in the annals of British valour and virtue. On the force reaching Khoord-Cabul snow began to fall, and continued till morning. Only four small tents were saved, of which one belonged to the General; two were devoted to the ladies and children, and one was given up to the sick, but an immense number of poor wounded wretches wandered about the camp destitute of shelter, and perished during the night. Groans of misery and distress assailed the ear from all quarters. We had ascended to a still colder climate than we had left behind, and were without tents, fuel, or food; the snow was the only bed for all, and of many, ere morning, it proved the winding sheet. It is only marvellous that any should have survived that fearful night!"

Eyre and his family, consisting of his wife and a little boy, emerged safely from the Khoord-Cabul Pass. The child was strapped to the back of a faithful Afghan servant on horseback, and had a very narrow escape, owing to the horse falling and throwing them both off in the middle of the pass. Eyre's feelings must have been harrowing during the long hours of that terrible day, while those dear to him were exposed to an ordeal as awful as any that delicate women and children have ever passed

* Captain Colin Troup lived to do good service as Brigadier commanding the troops during the mutiny at Mooltan.

through. How painful must have been the apprehensions that racked him as he thought of the morrow, and the direful fate that must befall them unless some wholly unlooked-for deliverance arose. Though suffering himself from his wound, he sat up all night with Lieutenant Mein, in attendance on their friend poor Sturt, by whose side also kept watch the young wife, the daughter of the gallant Sale. To assuage Sturt's thirst, Eyre and Mein were obliged to wander, alternately, through the camp, in search of fire to melt a cupful of snow, and often, before they could regain the tent, the contents had frozen again into a hard mass. But before morning death happily brought relief. Lieutenant Sturt was much beloved and the Government lost in him a promising young officer, to whom might be applied Shakespeare's description of young Edward of York:—

"A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman,
Fram'd in the prodigality of nature;
Young, valiant, wise, and no doubt, right royal,
The spacious world cannot again afford."

His wife had no time to mourn her loss, and the horrors of that night were too pressing and vivid to admit of retrospection. But a not less sad fate was reserved for the young widow, who, after losing a father and husband in battle, was doomed, together with her second husband, Major Holmes, of the Irregular Cavalry, to be murdered by rebel Sepoys during the Indian mutiny.

The morning of the 9th dawned upon a scene of unspeakable misery, and the confusion of the previous day was renewed as soon as it became light enough to move. The General had ordered the march for 10 o'clock, but a large portion of the troops, with all the camp followers, moved off without instructions at 8 a.m., and had advanced about a mile from camp when they were recalled by the General, in consequence of a communication from Akhar Khan, who promised to supply the force with provisions, and do his best for its future protection. At his suggestion a halt was ordered by Elphinstone, and the perishing troops sat down in the snow, from which they would have been clear in another march. A day of painful uncertainty ensued. The whole force was against delay, and Shelton went to the General to remonstrate, but in vain. Towards noon the Sirdar sent Captain Skinner to propose that all the ladies and married people, with their children, should be surrendered to him, in order that they might be preserved from

further hardships and dangers; and he promised to escort them in safety to Jellalabad, keeping them one day's march in rear of the army. General Elphinstone complied with the request, not only, as he has recorded, because he was anxious to spare them from any further suffering, but, "hoping that, as from the very commencement of the negotiations the Sirdar had shown the greatest anxiety to have the married people as hostages, this mark of trust might elicit a corresponding feeling in him." Captain Skinner was directed by the General to prepare all the married officers and ladies to depart immediately with a party of Afghan horse, who were in waiting to conduct them to the Sirdar. Two wounded officers, Captain Colin Troup and Lieutenant Mein, accompanied the party.

Eyre, on receiving a verbal message to prepare for the departure of himself and family, sought the General in order to receive the order from his own lips. The unfortunate Elphinstone was greatly distressed, but, warmly pressing his hand, urged him to mount and join the party, as the escort were impatient to start. Captain Nicholl now commanded the artillery, and Eyre felt that, in his wounded state, his presence could no longer be of any service to the force, while his duty was to obey.

The party consisted of Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, Mrs. Sturt and one child; Mrs. Trevor and 7 children; Captain and Mrs. Boyd, and one child; Captain and Mrs. Anderson, and one child; Lieutenant and Mrs. Waller, and one child; Lieutenant and Mrs. Eyre, and one child; Mrs. Mainwaring and one child; and Sergeant Wade and family.* Including 7 officers left behind at Cabul, and 3 made over during the march, the chiefs had now gained possession of 17 British officers, nominally as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty; besides 10 ladies, and 22 children. Eyre's participation in the disasters of the ill-fated Cabul force now ceases, but the story of how the Cabul

* Speaking of the wretched condition of the ladies, thus released from a terrible fate, Eyre writes:—"Up to this time scarcely one of the ladies had tasted a meal since leaving Cabul. Some few had infants a few days old at the breast, and were unable to stand without assistance; others were so far advanced in pregnancy that, under ordinary circumstances, a walk across a drawing-room would have been an exertion; yet these helpless women, with their young families, had already been obliged to rough it on the backs of camels, and on the tops of the baggage yabocs; those who had a horse to ride, or were capable of sitting on one, were considered fortunate indeed. Most had been without shelter since quitting the cantonment; their servants had nearly all deserted or been killed; and with the exception of Lady Macnaghten and Mrs. Trevor, they had lost all their baggage, having nothing in the world left but the clothes on their backs; those, in the case of some of the invalids, consisted of night-dresses in which they had started from Cabul in their litters. Under such circumstances, a few more hours would probably have seen some of them stiffening corpses."

force perished, almost to a man, is well told in his pages, as derived from the lips of eye-witnesses. In the words of Campbell's noble lyric:—

“ Few, few shall part, where many meet !
The snow shall be their winding sheet,
And every turf beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre.”

Bidding what proved to be an eternal farewell to their friends, Eyre and his party proceeded by a road which lay through ravines and wilds of the most savage description, a distance of two miles, to a fort perched on the edge of a precipitous rock. After standing for several minutes amidst a circle of ferocious Afghans forming the garrison, the captives were shown into a small inner court, where they found Major Pottinger and Captains Mackenzie and Lawrence, who had been made over as hostages at Boothak. The accommodation, though the best the place afforded, was of the most humble description, consisting of three small dark hovels, into which ladies and gentlemen were promiscuously crowded together, the bachelors being, however, separate from the married families.

Eyre and his associates in misfortune remained captives in Afghanistan for a period of eight and a half months, during which he occupied his leisure in recording on such scraps of paper as he could collect, the strange and thrilling incidents of the siege at Cabul, and subsequent retreat, while yet they were fresh in his own memory and that of his fellow captives. His chief object in these labours was to place the whole unvarnished truth before the British public, “not omitting anything or setting aught down in malice.” That he succeeded admirably has been universally allowed, and every writer on the sad events of the winter of 1841 has borrowed largely from his pages, and acknowledged their fidelity and impartiality. The story of the captivity was also written while he was languishing in an Afghan prison, and was appended in the form of a journal to the “Narrative of the Military Operations at Cabul.” The original manuscript was sent by Eyre in parts, as it was finished, and opportunity offered, to a military friend in India. His object in writing and despatching it under such peculiar circumstances is thus stated in a letter:—“I wrote my narrative because it was at the time very doubtful whether any of the chief actors would survive, and I felt an anxious desire that, should we perish in captivity, the public might be able to judge properly of the respective merits of all concerned. I can boldly

assert that there is not a sentence which I do not believe to be strictly true."

The work, published by Murray, passed through several editions, and was the means of putting £1,000 into the pockets of the writer, a not unpleasing result to a subaltern officer, who had sustained heavy losses, a severe wound, and long-continued mental anxiety. It was eagerly devoured by the English public (among whom it first appeared) as well as by the Indian community, and was translated into two or three European languages. Fourteen years afterwards, during a visit to Europe, Eyre happened to be looking over the shelves of a bookseller's shop in Paris, when he stumbled across a copy of the French translation of the book. The perusal of the work had the unprecedented effect of depriving the "Iron Duke" of a night's rest.

On the morning of the 11th January the party of English prisoners and hostages started, under an escort of fifty horse, for Tezeen, having been previously cautioned to use their swords and pistols in case of need, as an attack might be expected from the bloodthirsty Ghazees who thronged the road. The retreating army had marched over the same ground on the previous day, and the spectacle presented to the eyes of the captives along the whole line of road was terrible indeed. In vain the ladies strove to avert their shuddering gaze from the horrifying sights, or to guide their horses' steps so as to avoid treading on the corpses of their mangled countrymen which strewn the path. "The snow," says Eyre, "was absolutely dyed with streaks and patches of blood for whole miles, and at every step we encountered the mangled bodies of British and Hindostani soldiers." Even more painful to see were the "small groups of miserable, starving, and frost-bitten wretches, among whom were many women and children, who were still permitted to cling to life, perhaps only because death would, in their case, have been a mercy." The captives passed numerous parties of truculent Ghazees laden with booty, and having their naked swords still reeking with the blood of their victims, who hurled at them deep curses and sanguinary threats. Towards evening the fort of Tezeen was reached after a march of sixteen miles, and here the party put up for the night.

On the following morning they were carried to Seh-Baba, and the same horrifying scenes of carnage sickened them as they journeyed along. Numbers of exhausted and starving camp-followers were lying under cover of the rocks, within whose

crevices they vainly sought shelter from the biting wind. The hearts of all were harrowed by the supplications of these poor wretches for food and covering, which they were unable to supply. Proceeding on towards Jugdulluk, they traversed precipitous mountain paths, and when striking the line of retreat of the Cabul force, passed the ruined inclosure within which the remnant of the troops had so hopelessly sought shelter. "The spectacle," says Eyre, "was more terrible than any we had previously witnessed, the whole interior space being one crowded mass of bloody corpses." About 200 yards from this Golgotha three ragged tents were pitched for their reception, and, close by, Akbar Khan was encamped, with General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson. Next morning the entire party of captives, accompanied by the Sirdar, pursued their journey. The road was most difficult, at one time lying through a narrow defile five or six miles in length, and again winding over a rocky path scarcely affording a practicable footing for the horses and camels. After a fatiguing journey of twenty-five miles, the captives encamped in the open air near the fort of Kutz, exposed the whole night to a high cutting wind. Sleep was scarcely possible under such circumstances, and they were not sorry to partake at night of a meal consisting of half-baked cakes of unleavened bread, and some lumps of tough mutton, with tea prepared by their servants.

At an early hour on the 15th, they were again on the move, and crossed the Cabul river, the current of which ran with such rapidity that several men and ponies were swept away and drowned. The water reached up to the saddle-girths, and many of the ladies were obliged to dismount from their ponies and ride astride on the chargers of the Afghans to avoid getting wet. Akbar Khan carried Mrs. Waller behind him on his own horse. Passing over a barren undulating country for about ten miles, they crossed into the fertile valley of Lughman, and halted at the walled town of Tugree. On Monday, the 17th, they were again on the march, but all the hopes they had entertained of being escorted to Jellalabad, about thirty miles distant, were blighted, by a move being made in a contrary direction. At 2 o'clock they reached Buddeeabad, a distance of eight miles, and were accommodated in a fort* the property of Mahomed

* The fort is thus described by Eyre:—"The fort was of a square form, each face about 80 yards long, with walls 25 feet high, and a flanking tower at each corner. It was further defended by a *faussebratie*, and deep ditch all round, the front gate and postern being defended by a tower or bastion. The Zuna-Khaneh, or private dwelling,

Shah Khan, the father-in-law of Akbar Khan. Under charge of this chief, whose principal characteristics were an insatiable avarice, and hatred of the British, the captives remained until the 11th April. Besides the ladies, the officers, and their children, there were, in what is called in India the "Tei-Khana," seventeen European soldiers and three European women. On the following day (the 18th January) Akbar Khan and his cousin, Sultan Jan, left Buddeeabad with the avowed object of effecting the reduction of Jellalabad.

Now, for the first time since leaving the cantonment at Cabul on the 6th January, the prisoners were enabled to change their raiment, though clean linen was very scarce. They were not suffered to wander far from their prison-house, but, within its walls, they found occupation and some amusement from a few books which were brought for sale by natives of the country, who had picked them up on the road traversed by the army on its retreat, or which had been sent from Jellalabad. Sometimes letters were received, but as it was dangerous to send military or political news by the ordinary method of epistolary correspondence, the Jellalabad officers hit upon the expedient of dotting off letters in old newspapers so as to form words and sentences. In this manner they learnt the tidings of Brigadier Wild's disastrous repulse in the Khyber Pass on the 19th January; the nomination of General Pollock to the command of the army destined to effect the withdrawal of Sale's brigade; and the arrival of Dr. Brydon at Jellalabad. Many letters were also written to friends in India or England, to be despatched as opportunity offered. The chief in-door amusement was derived from some rude backgammon boards constructed by the captives, and two or three packs of old playing-cards, which, in their dirty and limp condition, would have horrified a well-conducted west-end club. The elder captives were also not above playing at hop-scotch and blind-man's buff with the children, and the gentlemen occasionally wiled away an hour by engaging in a wrestling bout, or sword exercise, with the Afghan chiefs, their superior excellence in which gave so great umbrage to their custodians that it had to be discontinued.

On the 23rd January, Akbar Khan, accompanied by Sultan Jan, returned to Buddeeabad, and, on the following day, sent

occupied two sides of a large square space in the centre, shut in by a high wall, each wing containing three apartments, raised about 8 feet from the ground, and the outer side of the principal room, consisting entirely of a wooden framework, divided into five compartments, with ornamented panels in each, made to slide up and down at pleasure."

the captives 1,000 rupees for distribution—a welcome gift, as some of them were wholly without money. On the 13th February, the captives were joined by Major Griffiths, of the 37th Native Infantry, and on the 15th their number was further augmented by the arrival of Captain Soutar, of the 44th, who had saved the colours of his regiment by wrapping them round his body, to which he owed his life, as the Afghans took him for a person of distinction.

A few days afterwards the lives of the English captives were menaced by an altogether new and unexpected enemy. At 11 a.m., on the 19th February, a violent shock of earthquake visited the neighbouring country. Eyre says:—"Large masses of the lofty walls that encompassed us fell in on all sides with a thundering crash, a loud subterranean rumbling was heard as of a boiling sea of liquid lava, and wave after wave seemed to lift up the ground on which we stood, causing every building to rock to and fro like a floating vessel. The dwelling in which we lodged was terribly shaken, and the room inhabited by Lady Sale fell in; the ladies and their children made a timely rush into the open air at the commencement of the earthquake, and entirely escaped injury. General Elphinstone being bedridden was for some moments in a precarious position, from which he was rescued by the intrepidity of his soldier servant, who carried him off in his arms. We shortly learned that our fort had been singularly favoured, almost every other fort in the valley having been laid low, and many inhabitants destroyed in the ruins. The town of Tugree, especially, seems to have suffered severely, scarcely a house being left standing, and several hundreds of people having been killed in the fall." Eyre himself had a narrow escape from being crushed to death by a mass of the wall under which he chanced to be standing while tending his horse, which he had been permitted to retain.

On the 23rd February, the captives were joined by Captain Bygrave, who had passed through some perilous adventures after surmounting the fatal barrier at Jugdulluck on the 12th January. The month of March passed without any noteworthy incident. On the 10th of the month, the captives had to move out of the fort and occupy some small wooden huts, and, on the 28th, they heard of the murder of Shah Soojah, the unhappy *causa belli*, by his godson, at whose birth he was present, and whom he had befriended through life. No touch of the remorse which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Edward the Fourth for the fate of his brother Clarence put to death by his orders, found utterance among these cruel princes, who, whether Suddozyes or

Barukzyes, alike blinded or executed their brothers or other relatives who strove with them for the crown:—

“ Who sued to me for him ? who, in my wrath,
Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advised ?
Who spoke of brotherhood ? who spoke of love ?

The proudest of you all
Have been beholden to him in his life ;
Yet none of you would once plead for his life.”

On the 9th April they heard of the total defeat inflicted on Akbar Khan's army by the Jellalabad force, though their joy was damped by the report that, at a council of chiefs, held the previous night, it had been resolved to murder all the prisoners as the readiest way of disposing of them. But at sunset Mahomed Shah Khan arrived with a large party of followers, and going among the prisoners, reassured them by his cordial manner. He informed them, after a slight allusion to the defeat of the 7th, that they must all be in readiness to leave Buddeeabad.

On the following morning, before starting, the captives were robbed of almost every article of value, and were then suffered to depart under an escort of fifty Afghans, the European soldiers being left behind. After marching some ten miles, they overtook Akbar Khan, sitting in a palanquin, with his arm in a sling, he having been wounded in the action of the 7th April at Jellalabad. He looked pale and dejected, but politely returned the salutes of his prisoners. A little further on they found three tents pitched for their reception, in which they had to pass the night in the greatest discomfort, for the rain fell in torrents, and there was not sufficient room to spread the bedding. On the following morning they continued their journey until they reached the fort at Tezeen, on the 19th April. The route lay over barren hills and a desolate-looking country. Some of the captives suffered severely from the exposure, and General Elphinstone was so ill that he had to be supported on his horse by a man on either side. They arrived at Tezeen, after a march of sixteen miles, wet to their skins, and were crammed, the ladies into a small dirty room half filled with Afghan women, and the gentlemen into a still more miserable hovel. On the day following their arrival, one of the ladies was confined, making the fourth addition to the number of captives. On the 22nd April the greater number of the captives were hurried off in the direction of the hills, up a gradual ascent of many thousands of feet to a place called Zandah. There was apparently some apprehension of an attack from Cabul, as those who remained behind,

including General Elphinstone, Major Pottinger, the Wallers, and the Eyres, were removed to a small fort, two miles higher up the valley, whither the Sirdar had preceded them.

This hurried move killed poor General Elphinstone, who had been at the point of death for some days. Eyre, who had suffered so greatly from the incapacity of his late chief, pays a generous tribute to the many virtues of this most unhappy soldier. "To the very last," he says, "he exhibited a measure of Christian benevolence, patience, and high-souled fortitude, which gained him the affectionate regard and admiring esteem of all who witnessed his prolonged sufferings and his dying struggles; and who regarded him as the victim, less of his own faults, than of the errors of others." The body having been packed in a rude coffin and slung across a camel, was sent off under a small escort, but, unhappily, fell into the hands of some bigoted Afghans, who stripped and pelted it with stones, and wounded the European servant in charge. Akbar Khan was greatly annoyed on hearing of this outrage, and despatched a large party who rescued the soldier and repacked the body, which was forwarded on to Jellalabad, where it received Christian burial.

On the day following General Elphinstone's death, Captain Colin Mackenzie, disguised as a native, was despatched to Jellalabad on a mission to General Pollock, who had been invested with supreme military and political powers in Afghanistan, to treat for the release of the prisoners. Mackenzie took with him the first portion of Eyre's narrative, which, after its perusal by General Pollock, was forwarded by the latter to Lord Ellenborough's private secretary, and eventually despatched to England. To Akbar Khan's overtures, Pollock made reply on the 26th, that "if money was a consideration, he was prepared to pay into the hands of any one the Sirdar might depute to receive it, the sum of two lacs of rupees (£20,000) whenever the prisoners might be delivered into his hands."

The Sirdar, accompanied by Major Pottinger, visited the other prisoners at Zandah, and, a few days after his return, sent for Eyre to examine a cavalry saddle, as he was anxious to know whether it was made of hog's skin. Eyre told him it was a difficult question to decide, as both hog and cow-skins were used, and could not easily be distinguished. As he was evidently most unwilling that a good saddle should be sacrificed to the religious scruples of his moollah, who was seated in the room, and expressed this disinclination by some knowing winks, Eyre voted in favour of the cow, and, as Waller afterwards declared himself of the same opinion, the Sirdar retained the

saddle. About this time Akbar Khan, expecting to be involved in hostilities with Ameenollah Khan and Futtey Jung, the son of Shah Soojah, urgently pressed Eyre to fight for him at Cabul, where his experience as an artillery officer would be of great service to his cause. Eyre's refusal greatly annoyed the Sirdar, who repeated the request several times. On the 4th May Akbar Khan proceeded to Cabul, accompanied by Major Pottinger and Captain Troup, to establish his influence over the factions contending for mastery.

On the 22nd May, the prisoners received orders to march, on the following day, for Cabul, Akbar Khan fearing an attempt at rescue, or treachery on the part of certain chiefs who were scheming to carry them off and secure the ransom from General Pollock. The party retraced their former track across the hills, to the fort in which General Elphinstone died, and crossing a branch of the Tezeen valley, passed along the road followed by the retreating army in January, until they arrived at the fort of Khood-Cabul, at which they had been lodged on the 9th January, after a fatiguing march of twenty-two miles. The contrast between the summer and winter aspect of the Valley of Cabul immediately below the fort, was striking, the whole now presenting one red field of cultivation, while the air was heavy with the scent of wild roses, which were in full bloom. On the following morning they were again on the move, but were obliged to take the direct road to Cabul, the Khoord-Cabul Pass being absolutely impassable from the stench of the putrid bodies of our soldiers. At length they reached the fort of Ali Mohammed, a Kuzzilbash chief, situated about three miles from Cabul, on the Loghur river, in which they were lodged, dispossessing the women of the chief's family. Here the prisoners led a life of comparative freedom. They had a spacious garden in which to exercise themselves at stated times, and were permitted to bathe in the river. They were also allowed to receive visits from Captain John Conolly, who, with the other hostages, had been left behind at Cabul. Zemaun Khan, always friendly to the English, by whom he was called "the good Newaub," finding that their lives were in danger, gave them into the custody of the chief Moollah of Cabul. In July severe sickness broke out among the English captives, and several of them, including some of the ladies, were attacked by it.

The Sirdar sent Captain Troup twice to Jellalabad to negotiate with General Pollock for the release of the captives, but the terms he demanded were so exorbitant, and so calculated, moreover, to fetter the freedom of action of the British army,

that Pollock declined to accept them. On the 20th August, he moved from Jellalabad with 8,000 men, and, on the 25th, the captives, who had been joined by the nine officers taken prisoners at Ghuznee—among the number being the late General Nicholson, who fell at Delhi, then an Ensign in the 27th N.I.—were warned to prepare for the journey towards the Hindoo Koosh * mountains. Captain Bygrave was ordered to remain with Akbar Khan, and at half-past ten p.m., all the captives—except two ladies, who were too ill to travel—and their children started on their journey, the sick in kujawurs (camel panniers) and those who could sit a horse, on horseback; Eyre and Mackenzie were at this time both too ill to travel, but were, nevertheless, packed into a pair of camel panniers. The escort consisted of between 300 and 400 men armed with muskets, and formed into a regiment under the command of one Saleh Mahomed Khan, formerly a Subahdar in Captain Hopkins's Afghan levy, who had traitorously deserted with all his men to Dost Mahomed at Bamecan, in 1840.

After a journey of about sixteen miles, the party came to a halt at Killa Kazee on the Ghuznee road. Before starting, the ladies, in order to attract as little notice as possible in the unknown regions to which they were journeying, for the first time partially adopted the Afghan costume. At noon they were joined by about thirty European soldiers and two officers of the sick detachment. At 2 a.m. on the 27th, the cavalcade set out on their enforced travels, and, taking the road over the hill pass of Safed Koh, halted in a beautiful valley. On the following day they again bivouacked without tents; on the 29th made a short march of nine miles to Oonai: and, on the 30th August, commenced ascending Oonai Pass, a distance of five miles, until they sighted the Koh-i-Baba, a lofty snow-clad mountain of the Hindoo Koosh. Continuing their journey a further distance of seven miles, they encamped on the right bank of the Helmund river. Pushing on the two following days, they crossed the Pass of Hajeeguk, and, at daybreak of the 2nd September, commenced the ascent of the Kaloo mountain, a distance of two miles, the road being very narrow and precipitous in many places. The view from the summit, which is 13,400 feet above the sea, is described as presenting "a boundless chaos of barren

* The Hindoo Koosh, or more properly speaking, the Hindoo-Koh, ends in the Koh-i-Baba, a vast mountain north-west of Cabul, which is covered with perpetual snow, and rises to a height of nearly 18,000 feet. Thence run two parallel chains—the Safed-Koh (white mountains), and the Siah-Koh (black mountains). The former terminates just north of Herat, and the latter, the southern range, trends off to the south-west at a point to the south of that city.

mountains, probably unequalled in wild terrific grandeur." The road being unsafe for camels, all the kujawurs were filled with baggage, and the ladies and sick officers were directed to ride on ponies, some of the sick soldiers being compelled to walk. After completing the descent of this pass, which was almost four miles in length, they encamped at Killa Topchee.

The next day they crossed a river, and proceeding up the Bameean valley, passed close by the famous colossal images, 120 and 160 feet in height, sculptured in a cliff, about 300 feet high, perforated with hundreds of caves rising one above another in irregular stories. The party remained encamped at Bameean until the 9th September, when the commandant of the escort, Saleh Mahomed, fearful that they might escape or be rescued by the people of the valley, placed them in a wretched fort having some small comfortless apartments, lighted only by holes in the roof, and filthy beyond description. It was now the darkest hour of their fortunes, and apparently only a few days would elapse ere they would all be sold into hopeless slavery in the hands of the Wullee of Kooloom. At such a time it might have been expected that despair should have seized the hearts of all, and their thoughts and converse been only of death and captivity.

"Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs;
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.
Let's choose executors and talk of wills;
And yet not so; for what can we bequeath
Save our deposed bodies to the ground?"

But it was not so. It was felt by this band of Englishmen that now, if ever, an effort must be made to gain freedom. An agent was soon found in that land of traitors, in their custodian, Saleh Mahomed, who, having sold himself to Dost Mahomed, was prepared to sell himself again to the Feringhees, his former masters, for a suitable consideration. Captain Johnson had taken many opportunities to sound him as to his willingness to accept a bribe for the release of the English prisoners, but nothing came of it, until on the 11th September, Saleh Mahomed sent for Pottinger, Johnson, and Lawrence, and, in a private room of the fort, produced a letter which he had just received from Akbar Khan, ordering him to convey the prisoners to the Ozbeg ruler of Kooloom; but, he added, an agent had arrived from Cabul with a message from Mohun Lall, that if he would release the prisoners General Pollock would insure

him a pension of £1,000 a year, together with a present of £2,000. Saleh Mahomed then made a proposal to release the whole party, on their swearing to pay this sum to him. The offer was eagerly accepted; a bond was drawn up in Persian, and signed by all the captives to pay according to their means the money that was required from each one of them.

Pottinger being constituted leader, now appointed a new governor of the province in the name of the British Government, promising presents and remissions of revenue to those chiefs who should come in and make their submission, and, to supply himself with funds, levied contributions upon a kafila of Lohanee merchants who were passing that way.* Preparations were also at once made to stand a siege; a subscription was raised among the prisoners for provisioning the garrison, water was turned into the ditches of the small fort they occupied, wells were dug, and the loopholes cleared out. To insure the fidelity of their guards, 250 in number, four months' pay was promised to them on reaching Cabul. While thus busily employed, a letter was received, on the 15th September, announcing Akbar Khan's defeat at Tezeen, and the dispersion of his followers. It was at once resolved, Saleh Mahomed consenting, to return to Cabul on the following morning, and join General Pollock's camp. Accordingly, at eight o'clock, they started on their adventurous march.

That night, as they encamped at Killa Topchee, a note was received from Sir Richard Shakespeare, military secretary to General Pollock, stating that he was on his way to their relief with 600 Kuzzilbash Horse. Recrossing the Kaloo mountain on the 17th, they were joined in the evening by Shakespeare and his party of horse. At dawn of the 18th they pushed on by forced marches, and, on the 20th, were joined by Sir Robert Sale's brigade, which received them with every manifestation of sympathy. Eyre described the scene, and adds:—"General Sale's happiness at regaining his long-lost wife and daughter can be imagined; the gallant veteran's countenance was an index to his feelings, and apathetic indeed must have been the heart that failed to sympathise with his holy joy." They encamped that night at Urghundeh, and, marching past the serai at Killa Kazee, to which they had been denied admission, but which was now in flames, they skirted the ground on which General Nott's force was encamped, and, passing through the city of Cabul, the streets of which were almost deserted, entered General Pollock's camp at sunset, when the artillery thundered forth its welcome, and old friends crowded round to have a shake

of the hand, and ask and answer questions. And thus happily ended the captivity of Eyre and his associates in misfortune. The fellow-prisoners they had left behind at Cabul were likewise in safety, and Akbar Khan, with a touch of magnanimity that does him honour, released Captain Bygrave.

General Pollock commenced his return march to India on the 12th October, and crossed the Sutlej at Ferozepore on the 19th December. But there was still the last scene of the concluding act of the Afghan drama to be played. Military law required that the prisoners should be tried before Courts Martial, or appear before Courts of Enquiry, for "abandoning their posts and going over to the enemy." The courts sat *pro forma*, but they could not pronounce the officers arraigned before them guilty of any offence. One or two of them came out with more or less damaged reputations, but as far as Eyre was concerned, all the evidence that was adduced only enhanced his character, and he was "honourably acquitted."

PART II.

The Indian Mutiny—Proceeds to the Relief of Arrah—Action of the 2nd August, 1857, and relief of the Arrah Garrison—Defeat of the Dinapore mutineers under Koer Singh on the 12th August—The advance under Sir James Outram from Allahabad to Cawnpore—Eyre again defeats the rebels near Futtehpore—His services at the Relief of Lucknow and Defence of Alumbagh—Return to England—His experiences as Commissioner of the Boulogne Aid Society during the Franco-German War—Conclusion.

ON his return to India Eyre was posted to the troop of horse artillery raised to supply the place of the old First troop annihilated in Afghanistan, and in 1846, was promoted to the rank of Captain. He originated, as stated by a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, what is believed to have been the first soldiers' club in India, having for its object the suppression of drunkenness and vice, by the supply of tea, coffee, and other harmless beverages, together with books and magazines, at a merely nominal monthly subscription. With this object he hired a room, and, with the assistance of his brother officers, started the movement, which in our day has spread to wherever the British soldier is to be found. His philanthropic instincts did not, however, confine themselves to efforts on behalf of the humbler members of his own profession, for on his appointment, in December, 1844, to the post of Commandant of the newly-raised artillery of the Maharaja Scindiah, his sympathies were enlisted on behalf of the Portuguese native Christians, who had been thrown out of employ by the disbandment of the Mahratta force. Eyre made an appeal on their behalf to the Indian public, and received 600*l.* from various parts of India, with which he carried out the bold project of establishing a Christian colony in the valley of Dehra Doon, at the foot of the Himalayas. Thither 40 families, numbering 120 souls, migrated, and settled on lands provided for them out of the funds raised by Eyre.

In May, 1855, he returned to England on sick leave. While in this country he delivered two lectures in the theatre of the Royal United Service Institution, on the subject of metallic

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boats and floating pontoons for naval and military operations, and the novel features of his plan excited much interest among military engineers. In February, 1857, Major Eyre (he attained his majority in 1854) returned to India, and was posted to a horse field-battery in Burmah. Soon after his arrival broke out that terrible mutiny which, though it at first seemed destined, in the words of Napoleon's boast in Spain, "to drive the English leopard into the sea," only ended in raising our power and prestige to a higher point in the East than it had ever before attained, and developed the military genius of a host of brilliant soldiers.

In May, 1857, a telegram summoned Eyre to return to India with his battery; and, on June 14th, he found himself once more in Calcutta, the European and Eurasian inhabitants of which were in a state of panic. On that very day his old comrades of the Gwalior contingent, whom he had drilled into shape, mutinied, subsequently testifying to the thoroughness of the instructions they had received from their old commandant, by defeating General Windham at Cawnpore. On July 10th Eyre proceeded up the river Ganges to Dinapore, where he arrived on the 25th. Here he was greeted with the intelligence that the three native regiments had risen in mutiny that day at 2 p.m., and had marched off, after burning all the bungalows. At 6 p.m. Eyre disembarked three of his guns, at the request of General Lloyd, and on the following day proceeded with his battery up to Buxar, which he reached on the 28th. He now heard the sad tidings of the murder of Major Holmes, commanding the 12th Irregular Cavalry, together with his wife, already known to us as poor Sturt's widow, and the daughter of Sir Robert Sale. On reaching Buxar, Eyre learnt that the Dinapore mutineers had crossed the river Soan, and were besieging the civilians of Arrah, who had shut themselves up—to the number of sixteen Europeans, together with fifty faithful Sikhs—in a small house belonging to Mr. Boyle, a civil engineer, which he had fortified and provisioned for a siege. This brave little party had placed themselves under the command of Mr. Wake, the magistrate, and were holding out against most overwhelming odds. The mutineers were led by a redoubtable Rajpoot chief of Jugdeespore, Koer Singh, by name, who had rallied round his banner the whole fighting population of Behar, one of the most warlike provinces in that part of India.

Just at this juncture a steamer arrived with 160 men of H.M.'s 5th Fusiliers, under Captain L'Estrange. Major Eyre immediately proposed joint action for the relief of Arrah, and

this officer acceded, stipulating only that Eyre, as his senior, should give him a written order. This request having been at once complied with, early on the morning of July 30th, the guns and troops were disembarked, and at 5 p.m. set out on the march for Arrah, distant about forty-eight miles to the east.

Writing to the author in 1869, at the time he was engaged in this memoir, Sir Vincent Eyre says :—" I saw clearly that a momentous crisis had arrived when, unless this rising in Behar were promptly checked, the insurrection would inevitably spread far and wide over the lower provinces, even to Calcutta itself, where panic already prevailed ; and that the upward progress of British troops to the rescue of Lucknow and Delhi must be fatally arrested, if the safe navigation of the Ganges by our steamers were rendered impracticable by the presence of hostile forces along its banks. To use an expression in a letter I addressed to the Commissioner of Patna : ' Feeling myself free to act on my own judgment, I followed the bent of my instincts, and Providence blessed the venture.' "

The little field force thus hurriedly extemporised, consisted of 3 guns and 40 artillerymen, 154 men of the 5th, with 6 officers, 2 assistant surgeons, and 17 volunteers. The guns were drawn by bullocks taken, together with their native drivers, from the plough ; while the reserve ammunition and commissariat supplies were placed in common country carts, four elephants carrying the tents and bedding. It was during the height of the monsoon, and travelling was very heavy from the state of the roads. The march continued till the night of the 31st, when the troops halted till daybreak, when they received the depressing intelligence of the utter rout, with the loss of half their number, of a detachment of 400 British troops that had, meanwhile, been despatched from Dinapore, by General Lloyd, to effect the relief of Arrah. This terrible blow to the force with which he was co-operating, only served to nerve the heart of the gallant Eyre, who resolved to continue his enterprise. The small party pushed on at once, and, after a march of four miles, came upon a bridge that had been cut through and rendered impassable for guns. This was speedily repaired, and the force bivouacked for the night outside the village of Goojrajgunj— a strong guard being told off to defend the bridge, beyond which a picket of the enemy was known to be posted. At daybreak the next morning (Sunday, August 2nd) the column resumed its march, but had scarcely advanced a mile when the enemy was discovered in great force, in possession of the woods on the front and both flanks. The following animated account of the

action that ensued was dictated to Mr. Martin Gubbins, when Eyre lay sick with fever in his house at Lucknow:—"To bring matters to a decisive issue Major Eyre drew up his force on the open plain to the right of the road, and offered battle. The three guns opened fire to the front and flanks, causing the enemy to screen themselves as much as possible behind the broken ground between the two positions. From this they opened a heavy fire of musketry, and Major Eyre ordered forward skirmishing parties of the 5th Fusiliers to retaliate. The superiority of the Enfield rifles now became apparent. Galled by their accurate fire, the enemy gradually fell back to the shelter of the woods. Meanwhile Major Eyre directed the full fire of his artillery on the enemy's centre, with the view of forcing a passage through the wood. They scattered themselves right and left, leaving the road clear; under cover of the Enfield rifles, the guns and baggage were promptly moved forward, and pushed through the wood before the enemy could again close his divided wings. Emerging from the woods, the road was an elevated causeway bounded on either side by partially inundated rice-fields, across which the baffled enemy could only open a distant fire. Finding their intentions thus frustrated, they hurried back to intercept the force at Beebeegunge, distant about two miles ahead, where they had effectually destroyed a bridge and completely commanded the approaches to it from breastworks and the houses of the village. Major Eyre again halted his force, to refresh the men and cattle, within a quarter of a mile from the bridge; and sent out scouts to search for a ford across the river which separated him from the enemy. Here it was discovered that the four elephants had taken fright in passing through the wood, and had run away after casting their loads, consisting, unfortunately, of the greatcoats and bedding of the European soldiers. No ford was discovered, and it was found impossible to effect a passage over the bridge. Major Eyre determined on making a flank march to the nearest point of the railway, distant only one mile, along which there was a direct road to Arrah. This movement was for a time masked by the guns, which opened a brisk fire upon the village, while the infantry and baggage pushed forward in the new direction. But no sooner did the enemy discover the manoeuvre than they hastened in great numbers to intercept the force at the angle of a thick wood which abutted on the railway. *En route* Major Eyre discovered a ford, but as his force had already passed it, he proceeded, followed up pretty closely by a large body of infantry and cavalry, being the raw levies of Koer

Singh; while the three mutineer regiments pursued a course parallel to his own on the opposite side of the stream. On reaching the railway it became necessary to halt the force and assume a defensive attitude, until the mutineers could be dislodged from the wood from which they opened a very galling musketry fire.

"For a whole hour the force was hotly engaged at a great disadvantage, owing to the abundant cover which screened the enemy. Twice during this period the mutineers, seeing the guns left almost wholly without support (Captain L'Estrange's small body of infantry being occupied in skirmishing), rushed impetuously upon them in heavy masses, and were driven back on both occasions by showers of grape. At this juncture the Honourable Captain Hastings brought word to Major Eyre that the 5th Fusiliers were losing ground, and that their position had become most critical. Major Eyre hereupon resolved on trying what a charge of bayonets would effect, and despatched Captain Hastings with an order to Captain L'Estrange to that effect. Unable immediately to find Captain L'Estrange, Captain Hastings at once most gallantly collected every available man, and himself led them on, Captain L'Estrange promptly joining, on learning the order which had been given. Rushing forward with a cheer they cleared the deep stream, now confined within narrow banks, at a bound, and charged impetuously an enemy twenty times their number. Taken completely by surprise, the mutineers fell back in the utmost disorder, the guns opening fire upon their retreating masses, and in a few minutes not a man remained to oppose the passage of the ford. Thenceforward an open road was available, which skirted the railway to within four miles of Arrah, where a little before nightfall the force was compelled to halt by a rapid impassable stream. The night was employed in endeavours to bridge this, by casting in the large piles of bricks that had been collected on the bank by the railway engineers, by which means the stream was narrowed sufficiently to allow the construction of a small bridge formed of country carts, over which the guns and baggage crossed in safety; and at an early hour on the morning of August 3rd, the force marched, without further opposition, into the civil station of Arrah, and the relief of the beleaguered garrison was accomplished."

Among the slain were discovered Sepoys of nine different regiments—a sufficient proof, were any wanting, that in this action Eyre's small force encountered, besides the Dinapore mutineers, a formidable number of other trained soldiers of the

Bengal army. It is almost impossible to overrate the important results brought about by this most brilliant feat of arms. In recommending him for the Victoria Cross, Outram thus wrote: "In viewing the steady resolve of Major Eyre to effect the relief of Arrah, the perseverance with which he led his small force to victory, even against such overwhelming numbers, I respectfully submit that Major Eyre established a special claim to distinction, and earnestly solicit his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to bestow on that officer the Victoria Cross." To Eyre himself he wrote in the following terms:—"If acts of devotion to one's country entitle to the Cross, then surely the devotion you displayed at Arrah to your country, and the advantage that resulted to the country from that act, ought to secure it to you, of all men."

But although, in relieving the beleaguered garrison of Arrah, Eyre had achieved the primary object for which he had started from Buxar, he was not the man to rest upon his laurels, when other congenial work was before him. Having been reinforced by two companies of H.M.'s 10th and 100 of Rattray's Sikhs, he, on August 11th, followed Koer Singh to his stronghold at Jugdeespore, about sixteen miles from Arrah, in the heart of a dense jungle. On the following day the enemy were encountered, in a very strong position, and were forthwith attacked. While some skirmishers drew forth their fire, Eyre opened upon them with grape, causing them to rise in confusion, when a forward rush of the 10th Foot drove them, panic-stricken, into the adjacent jungle. Meanwhile L'Estrange, with the 5th Fusiliers, assisted by a field-howitzer, held in check the enemy's left, consisting of irregular levies of horse and foot. These now simultaneously gave way, and a hot pursuit ensued, which ended only at Jugdeespore itself. The enemy abandoned two field-pieces; and the redoubtable chief, Koer Singh, himself had barely time to effect his escape, leaving in the hands of Major Eyre his coat of wadded armour.*

The British troops followed up the fleeing rebels a distance of ten miles, when Eyre received an order of recall to join Sir James Outram, who had arrived at Dinapore to effect the relief of Lucknow. Eyre prepared to retrace his steps, first blowing up the palace and manufactory of arms and ammunition of the rebel chieftain at Jugdeespore. The little column was broken up on August 21st, after a short but brilliant existence of just three weeks, with results that have been enumerated in a few

* Sir Vincent Eyre presented this coat to the Royal United Service Institution, in Whitehall Yard, in the Museum of which it may be seen.

words—Arrah relieved; the Dinapore mutineers twice defeated and dispersed; Koer Singh in full flight to the north-west; the district of Shahabad restored to order and tranquillity; and the route of the Ganges open for the safe transit of our steamers and troops.

Eyre's military talents in an independent command were soon again illustrated. In the advance from Allahabad to Cawnpore, Outram entrusted him with a small force, consisting of 150 men of the 5th Fusiliers, mounted on elephants, and two guns, to intercept a body of 400 rebels, with four guns, who had crossed the Ganges near Futtehpore, for the purpose of operating in his rear. Eyre's masterly arrangements were rewarded with complete success. The force left camp on September 10th, at 2 p.m.; and, a little before daybreak the next morning, reached the village of Koondun-Puttee, by a circuitous route across fields and swamps. The villagers reported the rebels to be near at hand, with their boats moored about a mile off. Despatching his cavalry, 40 troopers of 12th Irregular Cavalry, under Captain Johnson and Lieutenant Charles Havelock, to guard the gates of the town, with instructions to pursue the rebels, and hold them in check at their boats should they attempt to embark, he marched to the river with his guns and infantry, and came up with the enemy as they were exchanging shots with the troopers, and making preparations to retire down the river. Posting his guns, under Lieutenant Gordon, on the banks, Eyre opened upon them with grape, while the infantry, consisting of detachments of the 5th and 64th Regiments, kept up a heavy fusillade with their rifles. The mutineers, finding resistance useless, attempted, but in vain, to blow up their boats. In despair, they threw their guns overboard, and in large numbers precipitated themselves into the river, preferring the tender mercies of the holy Ganges to the *feu d'enfer* of the British soldiers. The retribution meted out to them was awful in its completeness: but three men, of the large body of fugitives, survived to tell the tale. Outram wrote to Government in the following terms, of the importance he attached to this success:—"I now consider my communications secure, which otherwise must have been entirely cut off during our operations in Oude; from which evils having been preserved by Major Eyre's energy and decision, that officer and the detachment under his command are, I consider, entitled to thankful acknowledgments from Government, which I am confident will not be withheld. His reputation as a successful leader had already been so well established, that I purposely selected him

for this duty, in the perfect confidence that he would succeed." This elicited a second letter of thanks from Government.

On September 15th, Outram's and Havelock's forces were combined; and Eyre, preparatory to the advance for the relief of Lucknow, exchanged his light field-guns for four heavy iron 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers, drawn by bullocks and elephants. In that memorable advance Eyre did his duty, where all did well; but the difficulties he had to encounter in dragging his heavy guns over broken ground, which, in places, was little better than a swamp, were well-nigh insurmountable. Yet, though often separated from the column, which marched hurriedly along, he ever presented a bold face to the enemy, and had his guns unlimbered and ready for action on the shortest notice. On the 21st September his heavy guns did great execution at Mungulwar, and again, two days later, near Alumbagh, where the enemy were drawn up 10,000 strong. On the death of Major Cooper, commanding the artillery, on that terrible 25th September when less than 2,500 British soldiers forced their way through a city defended by 70,000 armed men, the command of the artillery devolved upon him. Twice during the day his guns silenced the fire of the heavy ordnance the rebels had mounted in the Kaiserlugh palace in the city. Immediately after his entry into Lucknow he was struck down with fever; and but for the careful nursing of Mrs. Martin Gubbins, who was a second Florence Nightingale during the horrors of that siege, he must have added another name to the long list of victims to the Indian mutiny. On the 16th November, when Sir Colin Campbell was operating against the Shah Nujeef, during his advance for the relief of Lucknow, Brigadier Eyre commanded a battery of heavy guns which breached the Hureen Khana (deer house), and the steam engine house, which were then stormed by a portion of Havelock's division.

After the second relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, Eyre remained with his old chief, Sir James Outram, and assisted in the defence of the extended position of the Alumbagh, taking part in the actions that were fought between the months of September and March. During the final siege of the rebel capital of Oude, he remained at Alumbagh, and his arrangements, as Brigadier of artillery and cavalry, were mainly instrumental in repelling an attempt made on March 15th, by a large force of the enemy, to break through that position which, if successful, must have exposed the Commander-in-Chief's flank and rear to their attacks, besides cutting off his

communications with Lucknow. Notwithstanding these services, rendered so opportunely by the gallant little force at Alumbagh, it received but scant justice in Lord Clyde's final despatch on the capture of Lucknow, an omission which excited the ire of the generous-hearted Outram, who wrote to Eyre as follows:—"I was as much disappointed as you could be on seeing the Commander-in-Chief's despatch in print, to find no acknowledgment was made of the services of the troops at Alumbagh, and especially of yourself."

Thus terminated the active military career of Eyre. He now resigned his career as an artillery officer and bade adieu to the "gunner's" tutulary genius:—

"You mortal Engines, whose rude throats
The immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit,
Farewell!"

As a reward for his great services, Eyre was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and received the Companionship of the Bath; the Government of India appointed him Superintendent of the Royal Gunpowder Factory at Ishapore, and, later, Inspector-General of Ordnance in Calcutta. During his residence here he warmly advocated the establishment of military colonies in the healthful hill-districts of India; and, after his return to England, delivered a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution, on the same beneficent scheme. Eyre was also elected President of the Outram Institute for Soldiers, and was member of the Army Amalgamation Commission in 1861.

In the spring of 1863 he returned to England, and was advanced to the rank of Major-General; but the state of his health rendering a return to India inexpedient, his name was placed, as a necessary consequence, on the retired full-pay list. He returned too late to England to assist in paying the last honours to his old friend and commander, Sir James Outram, of whom he wrote a brief appreciatory obituary notice in the *Friend of India* newspaper in April, 1863. In May, 1867, he was gazetted a Knight Commander of the Star of India, "a satisfactory proof," as he wrote, "that the lapse of ten years had not obliterated the remembrance of his services in times of trouble." One who knew Eyre well, Sir James Outram, wrote to him in the following terms, at the close of the campaign of 1858:—"I avail myself of one of the few leisure moments allowed me to thank you for the able, zealous, and invaluable service you have rendered me; to give utterance to the strong feelings of admiration with which I regard you as a man, a

soldier, and an officer ; and to assure you of the warm affection which I bear to you as a friend. Your future career I shall continue to watch with deep and affectionate interest ; and if at any time, or in any manner, I can be of the slightest service to you, I shall esteem it alike a personal favour and an honour to be permitted to aid you. But you are now far above the necessity for help from any one, for you have well and fairly earned the highest position the service affords, and doubtless will obtain it when opportunity offers." This testimony is the more valuable when it is remembered that Outram formed a similar opinion of another intimate friend, his chief of the Staff, now known to fame as Lord Napier of Magdala. When Sir James returned to England, after the suppression of the mutiny, he was confidentially asked by Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, to name two officers who he thought could be entrusted with the highest command in case of an emergency again occurring in India, and he mentioned Sir Robert Napier and Colonel Eyre. The former had his opportunity, and nobly justified the high opinion of his talents formed by his chief ; but not so fortunate was the subject of this memoir.

But Sir Vincent Eyre, like the superannuated war-horse " who sniffs the battle from afar," though incapacitated from taking part in the operations of war, retained the instincts and proclivities of the soldier, and witnessed some of the saddest scenes of the Franco-German contest. When the legions of France were beaten to the ground by the victorious armies wielded by Von Moltke with a skill unequalled since the days of Napoleon, Sir Vincent Eyre undertook the duties of Visiting Commissioner of the Boulogne Society for affording aid to the sick and wounded soldiers in the north of France. In this capacity, with two other colleagues, he visited Amiens, Arras, Douai, Lille, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Avesnes, Landrecy, Hirson, Valenciennes, Mezieres, and Sedan ; at which places he established hospitals and charitable societies for the dispensing of aid.

In a letter from Sedan he writes of his doings, and gives a graphic picture of the scene at that historic field where France learned again the bitter truth taught by the allied army in 1814, when, as Byron said :—

" France has twice too well been taught
The moral lesson dearly bought ;
Her safety sits not on a throne,
With Capet or Napoleon."

But, adds that lover of freedom, her happiness will be found—as it has, since she became the mistress of her own destinies—

“In equal rights and laws,
Hearts and hands in one great cause;
Freedom such as God hath given
Unto all beneath His heaven.”

He writes on the 25th September, 1870:—“Yesterday morning we took the omnibus for Sedan, and were so fortunate as to pick up an officer of the French ambulance, Dr. Davila, who had been an eye-witness of the battle-field between Rheims and this, and hence was able to point out all the spots of peculiar interest along the road we traversed. After this we found fresh evidence of the great struggle at every step, the fields being strewed with torn clothing and accoutrements, while fresh mounds of earth everywhere indicated the place of burial for men and horses. Of the latter, 5,000 carcases were dragged out of the River Meuse at one spot, where, in floating down, they had been intercepted by the wreck of a suspension bridge. We saw their skins in all directions spread out to dry. Our companion pointed out to us the little wayside house wherein Napoleon and Bismark held their memorable conference, and a little beyond, embosomed in trees, on a rising ground to the left, stood the pretty château of Bellevue, where the Emperor resigned his sword to the conqueror. Beyond this we descried the fortifications of Sedan, which we entered unchallenged by the German sentries, and soon beheld, on an extensive open space to our left, piled up in close array, as thickly as they could be packed, the 600 captured field-guns and mitrailleuses which are destined to form so grand a trophy of victory at the termination of the war. Passing through the town, which is a very attractive one, we were surprised to find very few marks of shot or shell, and should never have supposed that it had recently been the scene of so severe a cannonading. It is the most complete *cul-de-sac* into which an army could possibly have been entrapped, being surrounded by heights from which the long-range cannon of modern times completely command it, otherwise the fortifications would have been formidable enough to oppose a strong resistance to a besieging force. We lost no time in searching out the English ambulance, where Mr. Sartoris received us most kindly, and offered us abundance of stores from his depôt, subject to the approval of his chief, Captain Brackenbury, whose head-quarters are at Arlon, in Belgium. Dr. Davila having informed us that there

are many hundreds of French wounded at Réthel who are very badly supplied with nearly everything, we are anxious to take thither a sufficiency from here if allowed. As Mr. Sartoris strongly recommends our conferring in person with Captain Brackenbury on the subject, Mr. Blundell and myself have arranged to go to Arlon to-day for that purpose, while Mr. Merriden returns to Charleville (Mezieres) for our letters, which we hope may have been forwarded from Valenciennes, as none have reached us since we left Cambrai on the 22nd. Mr. Sartoris accompanied us to see the ambulance at Balan in a charming country château situated in beautifully wooded ground, where Dr. Frank and some English ladies attend to the wants of sundry wounded Prussians. A little beyond we drove through the melancholy ruins of Bazailles, a standing evidence of the worst horrors of war, and of the brutality it engenders. Dead bodies of many of its luckless inhabitants, burnt and buried in the wrecks of its own houses, still render the air noxious in some of the streets. We dined, by invitation, at the English ambulance mess. Passing through one of the wards, we stopped to speak with a poor French officer, whose dog attracted our notice on the bed. He was an old Crimean campaigner, and told us the faithful beast had never left his side during the late battles, and had kept constant watch over him when wounded. We have been gratified to find so many evidences here of the humane labours of our countrymen. We have endeavoured to act as your pioneers in this work, and having come thus far until meeting with your field ambulance in full operation, we shall, after meeting with Captain Brackenbury, begin to retrace our steps towards Boulogne, whence we originally started."

In 1872, Sir Vincent Eyre was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral, in Westminster Abbey, of his old chief, Sir George Pollock, to whom, indeed, he owed his deliverance from captivity in the hands of Akbar Khan. Again, more recently, he was present at the funeral, in the Abbey, of Lord Lawrence. Those who, like the author of these pages, attended the obsequies of those three great representatives of the Indian military and civil services—Sir James Outram, Sir George Pollock, and Lord Lawrence—will not readily forget the scene presented in Westminster Abbey on those solemn occasions. The gathering at the funeral of the last of the Company's Viceroy, on the 5th July, 1879, was more varied, if not so brilliant as regards the display of uniforms, than at the obsequies of Sir George Pollock.

Some notice of the services of the crowd of gallant men who

attended on the occasion of Lord Lawrence's funeral, will not inaptly close this volume of a work recounting the deeds of some of the distinguished soldiers of the Victorian age. The concourse of fellow-workers, civilians* and soldiers, who paid this last tribute of respect to one of whom might be said, in the words applied by Antony to the dead Brutus, "this was the noblest Roman of them all," was headed by Sir Charles Brownlow, K.C.B., who carried the decorations of the Bath and Star of India worn by the dead peer. He first saw service in the Punjaub campaign of 1848-9, and was present in the operations against the Huzzunzyes of the Black Mountain in 1852, in which Mackeson, Robert Napier, and James Abbott commanded columns. In August, 1854, he was shot through the lungs in the capture of some heights on the Mohmund frontier; in March, 1857, he served in the Bozdar expedition; and, in the following April, commanded the 8th Punjaub Infantry, which he had raised, beyond the Fusofzye border, under Sir Sydney Cotton. He also participated in all the operations of the China war, and commanded the Chittagong column of the Looshai expeditionary force in 1871-2.

Following Sir Charles Brownlow, and bearing the coronet of his old chief, was another soldier-statesman, one of the best of the school trained by Lord Lawrence. As assistant on the frontier to Sir George Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes more than thirty years ago, Lieutenant-General Reynell Taylor, C.B., C.S.I., then a Lieutenant in the Bengal Cavalry, did good service to his country, and was equally ready to subjugate or to rule a province. He served at the battle of Punniar on the 29th December, 1843, in the brief Gwalior campaign, and was severely wounded at Moodkee, the opening battle of the Sutlej campaign. In 1848-9, after assisting Herbert Edwardes in reducing to order the anarchy of the Sikh province across the Indus, he participated in the siege of Mooltan, the action of Soroojkhond, and accompanied Edwardes when engaged in reducing to subjection the disaffected and broken remnants of the

* Scarcely less eminent are the services of the crowd of Indian civilians who paid this tribute of admiration and affection to the dead statesman, who, taking him for all in all, is perhaps the greatest representative of their order that this country has sent to its Eastern dependency. Among such were Sir Charles Trevelyan, his associate at Delhi in the days of his novitiate, Sir Robert Montgomery, his chief assistant throughout the mutiny, Mr. Noble Taylor, Mr. Massey, M.P., and Sir Henry Sumner Maine, all members of the Supreme Council during his Viceroyalty; also Mr. G. Ricketts, Sir Douglas Forsyth, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir James Stephen, Sir Barrow Ellis, who have all served in India in the Civil Service or on the bench, and Sir Henry Davies, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub and for many years secretary to the deceased peer.

Khalsa army. With only some untrained Pathan levies he cleared the border, and, we are told by one conversant with his services, relieved Dera Ismail Khan, and borrowing an old piece of ordnance from the Nawab of Tak, with his half-armed rabble laid siege to the fort of Lukkee, held by two regiments of Sikhs with ten guns. The story of that siege is unknown in England, but seldom, even in the history of our conquest of India, has a more remarkable instance occurred of what can be achieved by indomitable resolution, fertility of resource, and the power of swaying inferior natures. Says a writer, "The smattering of fortification learnt at Addiscombe stood the young cavalry subaltern in good stead; trenches were opened, sap-rollers made of bags filled with cotton plucked from the fields; stones from the river bed of the Kuram used in lieu of round shot—any and every expedient was tried. Without one single soldier, with no hope of reinforcements, in the midst of a fanatical Mohammedan population, and threatened by an army marching down the Kuram valley from Cabul, Taylor never thought of flinching; his energy infected the Pathans, his perseverance overcame all obstacles, and after a siege of a month Lukkee capitulated. His tact and courage held the Derajat for us in 1857, and as political officer in the Mahsood Vazirce expedition, and at Umbeyla he showed that he possessed other qualities than those of a dashing soldier." It is strange that General Reynell Taylor's services have never been adequately rewarded, and he still remains without the ribbon of the Bath, as does also one of the pall-bearers, whose services have been scarcely less distinguished. We refer to General John Becher, C.B., R.E., familiarly known among his personal friends—and they are numerous, and included the late Viceroy—as "Johnny Becher." General Becher was Sir George Pollock's chief engineer at the forcing of the Khyber Pass, and throughout the advance on Cabul displayed high professional aptitude. He also served in the Sutlej campaign, and was severely wounded at the battle of Sobraon. During the mutiny he was one of Lord Lawrence's most trusted assistants, and was engaged in operations on the Hazara and Yusufzai frontier, and the late Viceroy entertained a warm personal friendship for his old lieutenant.

Of the other pall-bearers, the three who had served under Lord Lawrence, either in a civil or military capacity, had received recognition from those who have the dispensing of honours. Foremost among them was the well-known and honoured face of the hero of Abyssinia, Lord Napier of Magdala. As Major Napier he had served in the campaigns of

the Sutlej and Punjaub, and bears on his body honourable scars received at Ferozeshuhur and Mooltan. Later he served under Sir John Lawrence as chief engineer to the Board of Administration, planned the defences of the Punjaub, and drew up a project for bridging the Indus, which, not having been carried into execution owing to a misplaced sense of economy, has cost India dearly during the recent Afghan war. While employed in the Punjaub, Colonel Napier was engaged in the frontier expedition of 1852 against the Hussunzye tribe on the Black Mountain, where he commanded the centre column, and in November 1853, against the Boree Afreedees. In the Mutiny he performed services of such importance, at the relief and siege of Lucknow, and in command of a column treading out the embers of disaffection, that his name stands out at that crisis as only second to those of Clyde, Outram, Havelock, and Strathnairn. Not less important were his services in China in 1860, and in Abyssinia in 1868.

Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Norman, K.C.B., is an officer whose name appears prominently in the pages recording the most stirring scenes of the suppression of the great revolt. When an Ensign in the 31st Bengal Native Infantry he served throughout the Punjaub campaign of 1848-9, and was on the staff either as Brigade-Major or Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General in the early expeditions against the frontier tribes of the Punjaub, between 1850 and 1854, including Sir Charles Napier's expedition in the Kohat Pass. He also served in the Sonthal insurrection in 1855-6. But it was by his conduct in the mutiny of 1857 that he made his reputation, and we are scarcely far wrong in averring that he saw more of the military operations than any officer or man of the army. As Assistant Adjutant-General he was present at the battle of Budlee-Kc-Seraï on the 8th June, in which Colonel Chester was killed, when he succeeded to the responsible office of Adjutant-General, which, though only a regimental lieutenant, he held until the termination of the war, with the exception of a brief interval during the siege of Delhi, before Sir Neville Chamberlain was wounded. After participating with Brigadiers Greathed and Hope Grant in their operations, he accompanied Sir Colin Campbell throughout the campaigns he conducted, including relief of Lucknow, relief of Cawnpore, capture of Lucknow, and all the protracted operations in Rohilcund and Oude. He was no less than twenty-five times mentioned in despatches and, both Lord Clyde and Sir William Mansfield did not disdain to take counsel with this very remarkable officer, whose sagacity

was displayed equally in the field—as he showed at the relief of Cawnpore on the 28th November to the 6th December, 1857—and in the Cabinet, where he was Military Member of Council in Lord Lawrence's administration. The two other pall-bearers, exclusive of Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India during Lord Lawrence's administration, and Lords Northbrook and Shaftesbury—the former a successor and political sympathiser, and the latter a philanthropic fellow-worker—were Sir Robert Montgomery, his second in command throughout the crisis of the Mutiny, and successor in the Punjab, and Sir William Muir, who had held the posts of Foreign Secretary to the Supreme Government, Member of the Viceroy's Council, and Finance Minister at Calcutta.

Following the body were the mourners, and in that gallant throng the eye rested on men who had risked their lives and shed their blood in many fields, although, uniform not being compulsory, the larger number came in plain clothes. First among them were the brothers of the deceased statesman, Lieutenant-General Sir George Lawrence, C.B., K.C.S.I., and Major-General Richard Lawrence, C.B. The former served in the Afghan war, and, with another officer there present, General Colin Mackenzie, witnessed the assassination on the 23rd December, 1841, of Sir William Macnaghten, Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Soojah. Sir George Lawrence was twice a prisoner in the hands of the Afghans, and once amongst the Sikhs (in company with his late heroic wife, a sister of General Sir Samuel Browne), during the Punjab campaign, when the Sikh troops stationed at Peshawur drove the British officers from the Residency, and Dost Mahomed's brother, by an act of true Afghan treachery, delivered him into the hands of the enemy after promising him safe escort. Again, during the Mutiny, Sir George Lawrence held the vast province of Rajpootana to its allegiance by his firmness. Beside him was the youngest of the Lawrence brothers, Richard, who served at Sobraon, brought the Cashmere contingent down to Delhi, and commanded the fourth column of attack at the storming of that city, on Major Reid, of the Sirmoor battalion, being wounded.

The world-famous Lucknow garrison was represented by Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Lawrence's surgeon in his last hours; by Colonel T. F. Wilson, aide-de-camp to the Queen, who, after serving through the Punjab campaign, was present throughout the siege, a period of 145 days, in charge of the Adjutant-General's Department, and was wounded by a piece of the same shell as his chief; by Colonel T. T. Boileau, formerly

of the 7th Bengal Cavalry, who was present at Chinhut, and with his wife and family participated in the dangers of the defence; by Mr. George Lawrence of the Civil Service, nephew of the hero whose name is identified with that glorious episode of our history; and by Colonel Mac Leod Innes, of the Bengal Engineers.

The Indian artillery mustered strong, as they could not but do when the assemblage was one of India's most trusty soldiers, and among the number were the following "gunners":—Sir James Alexander, who was one of the pall-bearers at Sir George Pollock's funeral in the Abbey seven years before, and who served at the siege of Bhurtpore in 1826, commanded Sir George Pollock's artillery in the campaign of 1842, and was present at Maharajpore, in the Gwalior campaign, and at the battles of Aliwal and Sobraon. General George Campbell, C.B., a veteran, who was present throughout Sir Archibald Campbell's admirably conducted campaign in Burmah in 1824-26, including the siege of Donabew, and the actions of Promo, Maloon, and Pagahmnew, was present at the battle of Punniar (fought on the same day as the action of Maharajpore, and equally decisive), and participated in the Sutlej campaign, including the battles of Ferozeshuhur and Sobraon. Here also was General James Abbott, who, during the Afghan war, made his remarkable journey from Herat to Khiva, and was severely wounded in a night attack on the banks of the Caspian, while carrying terms of accommodation to the Russian Government at St. Petersburg. For a period of eight years he was governor of the province of Hazara under the Lawrences, and his administration was most successful, for he left the people contented and prosperous under British rule; while during the troubles of 1849 he held out alone against Shere Singh and his army, at the head of some raw levies raised in the province. Another distinguished "gunner" there present, was Sir James Brind, who commanded the artillery of Sir Sydney Cotton's force against the Mohmunds in 1854, also the foot artillery throughout the siege of Delhi, and served with distinction at Bareilly, and in other operations under Sir Colin Campbell and General Walpole, as well as in command of a column.

The achievements of another artilleryman here present, General Olpherts, C.B., V.C., were also most varied. Besides minor affairs he was engaged at Punniar, the hill campaign in Scinde, under Sir Charles Napier, and in the Peshawur valley in 1852, under Sir Colin Campbell, and from 4th June, 1857, when he assisted General Neill in suppressing the mutiny at Benares, participated in some of the most desperate fighting

of that eventful year, including all the actions under Sir Henry Havelock in his advance on and relief of Lucknow, the defence of the Residency and the Alumbagh position under Sir James Outram, and the siege and capture of Lucknow in March, 1858. His reckless daring was well known in the army, and gained him the V.C. Sir John Adye was also present, representing the old Royal, as distinguished from the Indian, Artillery, an officer of great ability and accomplishments. He served throughout the Crimean war and in the Indian mutiny, including the operations at Cawnpore, under General Windham "of the Rodan," and the Umbeyla expedition of 1863. Sir John Adye was an admirer of Lord Lawrence, and agreed with him in deprecating from a military point of view, an extension of our north-west frontier, and embroiling ourselves in Afghanistan, as calculated rather to weaken than strengthen our position." Sir Henry Lefroy was also present, distinguished for his scientific attainments, though having no war service. These were the most distinguished artillery officers in this remarkable assemblage; but there were others of lesser note.

The old Bengal Engineers, which ran so close a race with the Bengal Artillery as a nursery of distinguished men, had no lack of able representatives on this sad occasion. Besides Lord Napier of Magdala and General Becher, there were other Engineer officers of distinction present, as General Hutchingson, General Strachey, able, like his brother the Indian Finance Minister, Colonel H. Yule, of the Indian Council, an officer of talent as a statesman, and one of the most eminent geographers living, and General J. T. Boileau, a man of great versatility and capacity, who, since retiring from the service, has devoted himself to the furtherance of the interests of the soldier, whether officer or private, in the maintenance and education of his orphaned daughter.

Three veteran officers of infantry should specially be noted—Sir Patrick Grant, Lord Strathnairn, and Sir Charles Reid. The first named, of whom Sir Charles Napier once said in his *ipse dixit* manner, that he was "the most capable officer in the Indian army," served under his father-in-law, Lord Gough, at Maharajpore, as Deputy Adjutant-General and as Adjutant-General throughout the Sutlej and Punjaub campaigns, and in the expedition to Kohat, under Sir Charles Napier, in February, 1850. Lord Strathnairn has earned an historical reputation by his remarkable Central Indian campaign, in which he marched victorious from Indore to Gwalior. Sir Charles Reid, whose name is identified with the Sirmoor battalion, fought with it at

Sobraon and throughout the siege of Delhi, where he repulsed twenty-six separate attacks on his position at Hindoo Rao's house on the Ridge, captured the enemy's post at Kissengunge, and led the 4th column of attack on the 14th September, when he was severely wounded. Sir David Russell, K.C.B., who commanded a brigade at the siege of Lucknow, was also present; and that tried soldier, diplomatist, and erudite scholar, Sir Henry Rawlinson—tried in the Afghan war as political officer and chief adviser of Sir William Nott at Candahar, and experienced in diplomacy and statesmanship as a former minister to the court of Teheran, and a present member of the Council of India of twenty years' standing.

Of cavalry officers of distinction there were Sir Dighton Probyn, V.C., C.B., the *beau idéal* of a *sabreur*, who commanded a squadron of the 2nd Punjaub Cavalry at Delhi, and led "Probyn's Horse" in many a fiery charge in China and the Umbeyla campaign. Also Generals Stannus, C.B., Younghusband, C.B., an Irregular Cavalry soldier of reputation, and Sir Henry Havelock, (though an officer in the 18th Royal Irish,) whose services on the staff of his world-famous sire need little comment, for where the father was, there was the son until death parted them.

Soldiers second to none in experience of border warfare and distinction in the field were Generals Sir Harry Lumsden, K.C.S.I., and C. P. Keyes, C.B. The former, after serving in the Afghan war under Sir George Pollock, and at Sobraon, where he was severely wounded, raised the famous corps of Guides, cavalry and infantry, on the 13th December, 1846, commanded them at the siege of Mooltan and battle of Goojerat, and in no less than sixteen different affairs with hill tribes on the Peshawur frontier, including the expeditions under Colonel George Lawrence in 1847, Colonel Bradshaw in 1850, Sir Colin Campbell in 1852, and General Chamberlain against the Mahsood Wuzceeres in 1859-60, when he commanded a column. General Keyes also bears a name that is familiar to every hillman on our north-west frontier. Since Sir John Lawrence, some twenty-years ago, selected the young subaltern to re-organise a disaffected regiment, General Keyes has served in a dozen different border wars (including the Umbeyla campaign, where he displayed great gallantry), in four of which he commanded, and for eight years commanded the Punjaub Frontier Force, which alone of our armed forces in India owes no allegiance to the Commander-in-Chief. General Saunders Abbott, one of four distinguished brothers, two in the Artillery and one in the Engineers, was

also there. This excellent and popular officer served on the staff of Lord Hardinge, at Ferozeshuhur, where he was dangerously wounded, and throughout the mutiny was one of Sir John Lawrence's most trusted and successful lieutenants in the Punjaub.

Besides the Secretary of State for India and the members of his Council, the official element was well represented by Colonel Allen Johnson, Military Secretary, one of a family well known in India, where they have rendered services of the first order. This gallant officer, when a young subaltern of a Sikh regiment serving in Burmah, was one of the leaders of a storming party that carried the stronghold of the noted Mya-toon. The affair has acquired an additional interest from the circumstance that Sir Garnet Wolseley, then an Ensign in the 80th Regiment, raced Allen Johnson for the honour of being first within the enemy's works. Among others present were General Johnstone, C.B., head of the revenue survey of the Punjaub, who participated in many border expeditions; and Sir George Bouchier, who like Sir Charles Brownlow, earned the ribbon of the Bath by his services on the Assam side of India. Sir Frederick Pollock, late Commissioner of Peshawur, served under Sir Herbert Edwardes throughout both sieges of Mooltan in 1848-9, and accompanied the frontier expeditions under Sir Charles Napier to the Kohat Pass, under Nicholson against the Omurzeye Wuzerees, and under General Chamberlain to the Bozdar Hills. General Cockburn Hood was another frontier officer, having commanded the 4th Punjaub Infantry in the Besottee expedition of 1869, and his record of service includes the operations at Mooltan in 1848-9, the mutiny campaign of 1858, under General Showers, and siege of Lucknow in March of that year, when he was dangerously wounded. The officers of a younger school, who thronged the Abbey, were legion. Among them were some of Lord Lawrence's old staff when Viceroy, such as Sir Seymour Blane, Colonel Randall, and Captain Lockwood.

All three presidencies were represented. General Colin Mackenzie, of the Madras army, an Afghan warrior, who, like Lawrence and Eyre, had pined in confinement under Akbar Khan; and the western presidency was represented by such good soldiers as Sir William Wyllie, Sir William Merewether, Colonel Field, and others. The veteran first named had served in Afghanistan, under Keane at Ghuznee, and Willshire at Khelat, also under Sir Charles Napier at Meanee, where he received a desperate wound, and in other minor campaigns since 1818. Colonel Field served with distinction under Lord Napier in Abyssinia, as did

also Sir William Merewether, who was employed in Scinde under the orders of Sir Bartle Frere during the trying time of the mutiny, and could speak from experience of the unequalled services rendered to the State by the great man to whose memory he paid this last token of respect. Officers of Crimean service were represented by the veteran Sir William Codrington, by Sir Arthur Lawrence, who commanded the 4th battalion Rifle Brigade throughout the war, and by others of lesser note.

Thus we have scanned the distinguished crowd who have borne the burden and heat of the day, as Indian soldiers and administrators, and earned a niche in history among those who have assisted in building up and maintaining that great fabric of empire which is the admiration of England's allies and the envy of her enemies. Attended by such a throng of friends and associates, the great viceroy was borne to his last resting-place, and left alone in what Macaulay has so well called, "the great temple of silence and reconciliation."

"Those rites discharged, his sacred corse bequeath
To the soft arms of silent Sleep and Death.
They to his friends the mournful charge shall bear,
His friends a tomb and pyramid shall rear;
What honours mortals after death receive,
Those unavailing honours we may give."

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